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THE HISTORY

OF THE COUNTY OF

BY SIR JAMES MURRAY

OF HARRILL

M.D.XLIX.—M.D.XCII.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

PRINTED AT GLASGOW.

BY GEORGE BROOKMAN, VILLAFIELD.

M.DCCC.XXXIII.

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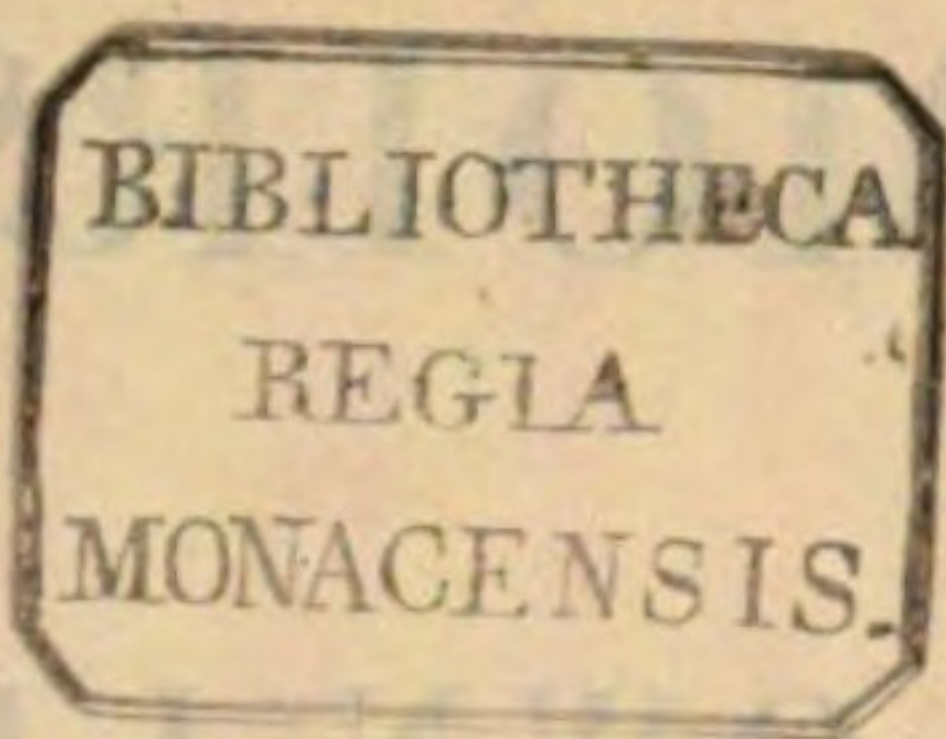
1900

MEMOIRS
OF HIS OWN LIFE
BY SIR JAMES MELVILLE
OF HALHILL.

M.D.XLIX.—M.D.XCIII.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

PRINTED AT GLASGOW,
BY GEORGE BROOKMAN, VILLAFIELD.
M.DCCC.XXXIII.



BY SIR JAMES MELVILLE

OF HALIBUT

M.D.CXIX—M.D.CXII

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

PRINTED AT GLASGOW

BY GEORGE BROWN, APPRAISER

M.DCCC.XXIII

MEMORIALIS BE SIR JAMES MELVILLE,
SPECIFYING OF MATTERS WHEREINTILL HE HES BENE EMPLOYED
BE SINDRIE PRINCES OR HAS SEEN AND VNDERSTAND
BEING IN THER COURTIS OR CONTREES,
TO SERUE FOR AN EXEMPLER OF LYF AND BETTER BEHAUOUR
TO HIS SONNIS CONCERNING THE SERUICE OF PRINCES
AND MEDLING IN THER AFFAIRES.

M.D.XLIX.—M.D.XCIII.

MEMORIALS BEING JAMES MEILLIE
THE ATTORNEY TO HIS SON
SPECKING OF MATTERS WHEREIN HE HAS BEEN EMPLOYED

BE SINDRIS PRINCES OR HAS SEEN AND UNDERSTAND

BEING IN THEIR COURTS OR COURTES

TO SERVE FOR AN EXCEPTOR OF LYP AND BETTER BEHAVOR
TO HIS SONNIS CONCERNING THE SERVICE OF PRINCES

AND MEDLING IN THEIR AFFAIRES

M.D.XLIX - M.D.XCIII

THE AUTHOR TO HIS SON.

P. 1. **SONE,** fen thou hes schauen thy self fa willing to fatiffie my expectation of the, in folowing and obferuyng many of my formar preceptis during thy yong yeares, I grant now vnto the thy requestis the mair glaidly, quhilk is to put in wret for thy better memorie findrie thingis that thou had hard me rehers betymes, baith concernyng maneris, with some meit preceptis for thy barnely age; and also how to temper the rage of furious youth be the reull of godlynes and raifoun; quhilk tua tretifes haue ferued also vnto the rest of thy brether and fisters. And now entring in rype age, to let the wit what tred of lyf I had led during my perigrination throw the maift part of Europe, from the age of 14. yeares vntill this present day, together with the prosperous succes and hard accidentis happenit vnto me in the mean tym; hopping that thou falbe na les ernest and diligent to help thy self be my faltis in dew tym, and not tary vpon the hurtfull experience of the commoun fort, fen na man can schaw the richt way better than he that has oft tymes chañcit vpon by roddis. Affuring the that, nyxt vnto the speciall fauour of God, nathing ftode me in

mair ftede then the eirly embrassing of vnbocht experience be the stombling errours of vthers, nor fand nathing mair domegeable then the omitting oft tymes of any sean exemple, quhilk brocht euer with it oure lait repentance.

The maist part of thingis that I purpos to set down presently ar certane auld wreten memorialis that wer lying besyd me in findrie pieces, specefeing of matters wherintill I haue bene employed my self be findrie princes, or has seen and vnderstand being in ther courtis or countrees, (as the purposes of them selues will declare) to serue for an exemplar of lyf and better behauour to the and thy brether, concerning the seruice of princes and medling in ther affaires, quhilk I culd not eschew; for I focht them not bot they me, yet enforcit my self to serue them mair cairfully diligently and faithfully than any of my compaignons; wherby I wan gretest fauour with them that wer wyse grave aged and experimented, as with the Prince Electour Palatin and auld Duc of Momorency Constable of France, wha had the haille reull and gouvernement of the contrey vnder K. Henry 2. his maister and myn; wha wer sa constant that ther fauour lasted sa lang as I remanit in ther seruice, not without the extrem and dangerous enuy of sic of my compaignons as wer naturally inclynit to that vill vice; whom I tok gret paines also be patience presentis and humilite till won, and to set aside part of ther malice. Bot when it chancit me efterwart to serue princes of yonger yeares and of les experience, at the first of ther princely naturell I also anes, be the lyk diligence cair and fidelite, obtenit ther fauour abone many of the rest of ther faruandis; yet at lenth they wer caried away be the craft and enuy of sic as culd subtilly creip into ther conceatis be flattery, and be juning them selues to-

P. 2. gether in ane desceatfull felowship ; euery ane of them setting out others as meatest and ablest for the seruice of ther maister, to the weall of him and his contrey ; craving the prince to be secret and not to communicat his secretis or any of his adois bot to ther fociete. Sa the princes kyndly and gud qualites being cled and smored with sic a company, wer commonly and sklauischly led efter the passions and particularites of them that schot only at ther awen markis ; some of them continually possessing his ear, and debarring therfra all honest trew and plain speakers, sa that na mair hope wald be left of a gracious gouvernement, nor pace for gud men to help ther prince and contrey. Wherthrow fell out many foull strange and hard accidentis, as may be seane and red heir-ester, of princes sa missused and abused, ther contrey perturbed, ther best and trewest saruandis wrakit, and the wicked instrumentis at lenth perissit with all ther hich and fyn pretences ; vthers ay sic lyk succeding in ther place, never ane taking example to becom mair temperat and discret at the destruction of ther deuanciers, bot as fercely following ther gredy vain and ambitious pretences, obteneing the lyk tragicall rewardis. For my part, albeit I had seane and oftymes red of the wrak and backward rewardis of all sic trew faithfull consellours and saruandis as wer maist cairfull for the weill and saiffete of ther prince, in resisting and gainstanding the deuyces of the wickit fort, and sometymes the prince for suffering them selues to be sa led be them as to commit many wrangis and errours at ther appetit, I left not aff nather for fear nor danger till oppon and withstand sa continually against the false fetchis of sic mingnons, vntill I mon confesse therby rather following the rud extremyte then the richt midis, I lost my credit with the prince and tint my reward ; reposing ouermekle vpon ther constancy and my gud

feruice, quhilk hes bene oft ane hurtfull oppinion vnto honest men, with ouer lait repentance. I was compellit to lament, as did Monfr. de Buffy when he was left and mislyked be his maister, crying out, "Alace wherfore suld men be earnest till surpasse ther marrowes in worthynes and fidelite, feing that princes wha getis the fruit of our labours lykis not to hear of plaines, bot of plaissant speaches, and ar easely alterit without occasion vpon ther trewest faruandis : I persauie weall that for to continow in ther fauour, they suld not be serued with vprichtnes bot with wylynes ; and insteid of fre langage for ther honour and preservation, till fram and accommod our selues to ther pleasour and will, quhilk may be easely done be the doildest sort of men : Bot my daft oppinion was that I mycht stand be honestie and vertu, quhilk I find now to be bot a vain imagination and a scoleasticall discours, vnmeit to bring men till any proffitable preferrement ; and yet my naturell," said he, "will not suffer me till proceed be any vther meanis." I being of the same mynd and natour, and be a iust calling and command first of the Quen his maiesteis mother and afterwart of him self, had mair matter and a greter warrand then many vthers, alsweill till admonisch advertis and reprove the prince as till gainstand all euell

P. 3. instrumentis ; against the reull geuen be Seneca to Lucilius, saying, Gif thou desyres to be agreable to gret princes, do them many seruices and speak to them few wordis ; Plato being of the same oppinion. The fauour of princes being obtenit be gret pain and trauell and retenit with gret difficulte ; therfoir suld the wyse courteour be laith till offend them, eyther be gestourword or dede ; for beinganes in disgrace with them, they may weill forgif, bot thou fall never be sa gret with them again do what thou will. Sometymes a man may discretly put

the prince in remembrance of his lang and gud seruice, bot cast not oft vp his seruice, nor be not importun nor sa audacious as to find falt with the princes proceedingis ; nor to geue aduyse vnrequyred, nor aduertissement without gud assurance to get credit ; for princes lykis not nor takis na head bot to sic thingis as ar tald them be ther fauoritis and mingnons, wha commonly seam to allow, and to tak pleasour of whatsoeuer pastym or occupation that they can persaue ther princeto be maist inclynit vnto, not as be way of flattery, bot be way of yelding and leaving their auen plesour, to tak panes to pleise the prince and till assist him in sic honest pasetym as he delitis intill ; and will neuer seam to be miscontent with the prince, albeit he reward them not in dew tym ; nor reproche him of his promyse incaice he brek it, nor that he has done better till vthers that haue not sa weall deserued. In many of thir reules I confesse that I haue oft tymes ouerschot my self, for ouer gret seruency towardis the princes seruice, and ouer gret forgetfulness of my auen particulair aduancement and proffit.

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the prince in recompence of his love and good service, but call not
off up his service, nor be not impatient nor in satisfaction as to find fault
with the prince's proceedings; nor to procure advantage by any means; but ad-
justment without any advantage to get credit; for princes like not
not take his head but to the things as he said them, be they famous
and unknown, who commonly learn to allow, and to take judgment of
whatsoever party in a dispute, that they can persuade the prince to
be in his duty and also, not as to way of flattery, but as way of yield-
ing, and leaving their own pleasure, to take pains to please the prince
and still still him in the honest path as he desires, and will
never seem to be discontent with the prince, albeit he reward them not
in due time, nor retribute him of his promise, in case he break it, nor
that he has done better till others that have not so well rewarded. In
many of our times I confess that I have oftentimes observed my self
for our great tendency towards the prince's service, and our great for-
getfulness of my own particular advancement and profit.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

SIR JAMES MELVILLE is well known as a person of considerable distinction in the Scottish court, during the reigns of Queen Mary and King James the Sixth. In many of the political transactions of that eventful period he was himself personally concerned, and for nearly half a century, had been an acute and intelligent observer of the characters and conduct of those around him. On the accession of James to the English crown, he withdrew himself entirely from public life, and appears to have devoted a part of his leisure to the compilation of some "Memorials" of himself; not so much in the view of giving to the world an exact and regular History of all the great and interesting events of his own times, as of leaving to his children a sort of political testament, exhibiting for their instruction and guidance, as much as for the gratification of their curiosity, a view of his own conduct and experience as a courtier, and a practical illustration of those rules and maxims, by which success in public life was most likely to be attained.

Sir James Melville died in the year 1617, at the age of seventy-two, leaving several sons and daughters. Yet, by some strange accident or neglect, the work thus peculiarly designed for their use, was suffered to pass out of the possession of his family, and is said to have long lain unheeded and forgotten in the Castle of Edinburgh. Among the Presbyterian ministers who, in the year 1660, were imprisoned in that fortress, by an order of the Committee of Estates, was the venerable Mr Robert Trail; and it is said that the original manuscript of Melville's Memoirs was there accidentally found by him, and restored to the author's grandson.

From this manuscript, one copy at least was made; the use of which was given to Bishop Burnet, when employed in the composition of his History of the Reformation; and in the second volume of that work, he had repeatedly quoted and referred to Melville's Memoirs, as the source from which he had been enabled to draw much original and authentic information. Thus, after relating an anecdote of Montluc, bishop of Valence, it is added,—“ This is related by one
 “ who was then with him, and was carried over by him to be a page
 “ to the Scotch Queen; Sir James Melvil, who lived long in that
 “ court, under the Constable of France, and was afterwards much em-
 “ ployed by the Prince Elector Palatine in many negotiations; and
 “ coming home to his own country, was sent on many occasions to the
 “ court of England, where he lived in great esteem. He in his old age
 “ writ a narrative of all the affairs that himself had been concerned in,

“ which is one of the best and perfectest pieces of that nature that I
 “ have seen. The original is yet extant under his own hand in Scot-
 “ land : A copy of it was showed me by one descended from him, from
 “ which I shall discover many considerable passages, though the affairs
 “ in which he was most employed were something later than the time
 “ of which I am to write.”*

It seems highly probable that this descendant of Sir James Melville was George Scott of Pitlochrie, a younger son of Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet, and Margaret Melville one of Sir James's daughters. Certain it is, that George Scott was in London, for some time, in the course of the year 1679, when Burnet must have been employed in collecting materials for the second volume of his History of the Reformation, and when he may be presumed to have received the communication, above alluded to, of a copy of Melville's Memoirs, taken from “ the original
 “ under the author's own hand, yet extant in Scotland.” This part of Burnet's work was published in 1681. In 1683, it was followed by the first publication of the Memoirs, of which George Scott was, nominally at least, the editor, and in the preparation of which he professes to have used a copy, “ derived to him” from the original, after its restoration to the family of Halhill.†

* Hist. of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 204. Among other references to Melville's narrative, see also vol. ii. pp. 214, 408, 411.

† Vide Appendix.

In an "Epistle to the Reader," prefixed to the work, after alluding to the period of the author's life at which "with his own hand he drew "up these Memoires," the editor proceeds to say,—“How far he deduced them I cannot certainly determine; 'tis very probable he had “given an account of all till the going of the King to England, “though *this copy* extend not so far: However, thou hast all that I “have, and nothing more than what is the author's, for I should “esteem it impiety to obtrude any thing of my own under his name. “And I hope the reader will rather accept kindly what is here happily retriev'd, than be offended at me for not furnishing him with “more than the injuries of time and ill men have left us. And, “indeed, I was not a little encouraged in this publication, by reflecting on the wonderful preservation of so much of it, after so many “years, and its then coming so providentially to my hand; it having found the Castle of Edinburgh an asylum till the year 1660, “which yet had not been found able to afford shelter to the Public “Records of the kingdom, from the hands of tyrannical usurpers: “Though I have not met with any information by what way it “came thither, far less how secured so long a space, and amidst so “many confusions, being there recommended to no man's particular “care, but exposed to the mercy of the rabble: Whence it was wonderfully rescued by Mr Robert Trail, late minister of the Gray-Fryars “Church in Edinburgh, when imprison'd there, to whom the author's “hand was exactly known. This Mr Trail, counting it an happiness

“to have lighted on so great a rarity, knowing the worth and abilities
 “of the author, remitted it to Sir James Melvil of Halhil, the author’s
 “grandchild : *From whence it was derived to me*; and having perus-
 “ed it, and thought I should be highly injurious to the publick, if I
 “did not communicate it to the world; together with the author’s fol-
 “lowing Epistle to his son in the nature of a Dedication, wherein, as
 “he shows his deep insight into the intrigues of Princes Courts, so it
 “likewise gives an evident demonstration of his sincerity in what he
 “has therein delivered; and of his firm affection to virtue and ho-
 “nesty, and detestation of vice, and those flattering acts whereby evil
 “and self-seeking counsellours have often abused the best of Princes.”

It is scarcely necessary to say, that the work thus given to the pub-
 lic was generally regarded as in itself a most interesting narrative, and
 an invaluable addition to the authentic history of a period in which the
 characters and motives of the great actors had become the subject of end-
 less controversy. It appears, however, that suspicions of the fidelity of the
 publisher began early to be entertained. His departure from the original
 he had professed to copy was, in one respect, abundantly obvious. The
 general style and phraseology of the Memoirs must have been clearly
 perceived not to be those of the age of Sir James Melville; but from
 this it could only be inferred that, agreeably to the fashion of the time,
 the work had been *done into English* by some *good hand*; nor could
 it fail to be remarked that the task had been performed by some one

very imperfectly versed in the peculiar idioms and antiquated phraseologies of the Scottish language.

Another ground of distrust, in later times at least, was the disappearance of the original manuscript, of which no traces could anywhere be found. This circumstance was by some connected with the disastrous fate of the editor and his family, who were known to have perished at sea, in the course of an ill-omened voyage to America.* A less charitable explanation was adopted by others, whose opinions and prejudices inclined them to throw discredit on the historical accuracy of the Memoirs, and who affected to think that the original manuscript had been intentionally destroyed, in order to conceal the supposed falsifications of the publisher.

These conjectures, in themselves of no great weight, proceeded on the supposition that Melville's original manuscript had been transferred, from the representatives of the family of Halhill, to their ill-fated kinsman, the editor of the Memoirs; a supposition most improbable in itself, and contradicted even by his own statements. It still continued, therefore, to be regarded as a matter of historical interest to ascertain, if possible, the degree of credit truly due to the work published under Melville's name. On some points, his veracity had been directly and vehemently impeached; and on others, connected with some of the most disputed facts in the history of that period, the testimony of an eye-witness apparently so candid,

* Vide Appendix.

was anxiously sought for in its purest and most genuine form. In this view, the late Mr Laing is known to have directed his inquiries into every quarter where it was thought probable that the original manuscript might have been deposited; but, as he himself has informed us, the attempt proved unavailing;* no traces of its existence could anywhere be found, and all hope of its discovery seemed to be nearly extinguished.

It must, therefore, afford much gratification to those who take an interest in such researches to learn, that an original manuscript of Sir James Melville's historical work has at last been found. Among the manuscripts formerly belonging to the family of the Earls of Marchmont, bequeathed to the late Mr George Rose, and now in the possession of his son, the Right Honourable Sir George H. Rose, there is one which has proved to be, in all probability, that original in the author's own hand, from which the copy perused by Burnet was taken, and from which the Memoirs published by the author's descendant were compiled. At what time, or by what means, it had passed into the possession of the Marchmont family, does not now appear. The intimate personal friendship, and political connexion of the two distinguished heads of the families of Melville and of Polwarth, at the period of the Revolution, are well known; and that connexion may serve perhaps in some degree to account for the transfer of this interesting document into the hands of the first Earl of Marchmont, who,

* Dissertation on Darnley's Murder, ii. 104.

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to his eminent talents and virtues as statesman, added the tastes and accomplishments of a scholar.

Although it would be absurd to deny that there may have existed original manuscripts of this work, varying from each other in their structure and minute details, yet, on a fair consideration of all the circumstances that present themselves, in comparing the Marchmont manuscript with the printed Memoirs, it seems scarcely possible to resist the conclusion, that this must be the very same which was so fortunately discovered by Mr Robert Trail, and from which the Memoirs were derived.

The Marchmont manuscript, like that found in the Castle of Edinburgh, is in the handwriting of Sir James Melville. Independently of such alterations and corrections, and other peculiarities, as usually serve to indicate the hand of an author, the manuscript throughout has been found to bear a resemblance to other specimens of Melville's penmanship, so complete as to leave no hesitation in the mind of any one accustomed to make such comparisons. Among the Burghley Papers, in the Lansdowne Collection of Manuscripts now preserved in the British Museum, there is an original letter of Melville to Sir Thomas Randolph, supposed to have been written in the year 1572, probably more than thirty years anterior to the composition of his Memoirs. Of this letter, and of two small portions of the manuscript, lithographic imitations are here given; and although, on a comparison, there will be observed that diversity which is usual in the hand-

writing of the same individual, in middle life, and in old age, it has not been deemed necessary to seek for any later specimens, in order to establish the point in question.

Another proof of identity, is afforded by the mutilated state of the Marchmont manuscript, compared with that of the manuscript said to have been found by Mr Trail. Whatever probability there may be in the statement given by his grandson, that Melville had continued his narrative down to the period of his retirement from Court in 1603, it appears that no part of the work subsequent in date to 1593, had been saved. The last public event alluded to in the printed Memoirs, is the adjustment in that year of certain discussions, arising out of the marriage-contract of the King and Queen ; and in the Marchmont manuscript, in like manner, this is the last portion of the narrative that remains complete. There follows, indeed, some account of Bothwell's "surprise" of the King in July 1593, but so mutilated and imperfect, from the injury sustained by the manuscript, as sufficiently to explain its omission in the printed Memoirs. This of itself may be regarded as a decisive circumstance ; for it is evidently against all reasonable calculation of chances, that so exact a coincidence should have happened in the fortuitous mutilation of two separate copies of the same work.

It did not require the aid of an original manuscript, to discover that the Memoirs were a modernized version of Melville's narrative ; but the extent of this change, and the licence of alteration which had

been indulged in, could not well have been understood or credited, without an actual comparison. In so far as regards merely the language of the narrative, the editor's only purpose seems to have been to give his book a more attractive and polished air ; an attempt which could not possibly be made, without destroying, in a great measure, the genuine character of the original ; and which, in many instances, has betrayed the compiler into mistakes and perversions of the author's meaning. Of these, the greater part must have been owing to an imperfect knowledge of the antiquated words and phrases of the Scottish dialect of Melville's age ; but, in other instances, the errors of the version may still be traced to some occasional negligence or imperfection in the formation of words or letters, which a more careful examination of the manuscript might have enabled the copyist to decipher. To the external proofs of the identity of the Marchmont manuscript, and that employed by the editor of the *Memoirs*, may therefore be added some mistakes of the kind now alluded to ; which, however, could not be rendered intelligible, without actual inspection of the original.

On the other hand, there are many palpable discrepancies between the *Memoirs* and the manuscript, for which it may not be so easy to account, and which may be thought to bear with considerable force against the supposition that this was the manuscript employed by the compiler of the printed work. The point is luckily of no very serious moment to the truth of history ; but those who may think it deserv-

ing of inquiry, and who may be inclined to regard every deviation from the manuscript as a ground of presumption against the hypothesis here assumed, should bear in mind that critical fidelity and exactness in the publication of historical documents, were little studied or cared for till within a period comparatively recent. Those who are at all versant in this department of our literature, must be aware, that even where no deception was intended, it was held to be within the sound discretion, if not the bounden duty, of a careful editor, to retrench the prolixity, and expand the careless brevity of his author ; to new-model the text into a better or more tasteful form, and to do whatever else he might deem requisite to render the work more acceptable to his readers. On the supposition that the Marchmont manuscript was the prototype of the printed Memoirs, it cannot be denied that the editor has made a liberal use of the customary privileges of his office : at the same time, it does not appear that any intentional or systematic plan to falsify the meaning and the sentiments of the author, had been entertained or acted on.

An obvious deviation of the printed Memoirs from their supposed original, will be found in the structure and arrangement of the earlier portion of the volume ; it is at the same time, however, one of those most easily to be accounted for. In a preliminary address to his son, Sir James Melville informs him that the work he was about to prepare for his instruction, would consist chiefly of certain detached memorials and pieces written long before, in which were

recorded the transactions he had himself been employed in, or the observations he had made in the course of his travels. In the manuscript there are various traces of this mode of compilation. It begins with an account of his own personal history, and some of the remarkable occurrences of which he was a witness, from the period of his first leaving Scotland in 1549, till the battle of St Quentin in 1557. At this point, the course of the narrative is interrupted by a portion of manuscript, which is stated by the author not to belong to the History, but which he considers as "meeter to be placed at the end of the book." It consists of a series of examples of the ruin brought on young princes by the influence of evil counsellors, drawn partly from ancient, partly from modern, history. His modern instances are King Edward VI. of England, and King James V. of Scotland. At the conclusion of this second and insulated portion of the manuscript, the author resumes his narrative nearly at the point where it was interrupted, yet not in such a way as to connect it exactly with the termination of the first part. In all that follows, however, there is a near approximation to the regular order of time, although at certain points it is not very difficult to discern a want of strict continuity, such as the author's plan of compilation could scarcely fail to occasion.

On examining the printed Memoirs, it will be found that an attempt, and not an unskilful one, has been made, to correct the disjointed state of the original composition. Throwing aside entirely the quotations from ancient and from English history, the work is made to commence

with that portion of the manuscript which relates to King James V.; after which, by means of some sentences taken from the beginning of the third part of the manuscript, where the narrative is resumed, the suppression of a few repetitions, and the introduction of a few words, the first and third parts are made to follow without any interruption, and the whole is connected together without any apparent awkwardness or irregularity.

Another deviation from the manuscript, less easily explained, will be found in the author's prefatory address to his son. The first half of this address, as given in the printed Memoirs, is obviously a licentious version of that contained in the manuscript; but for the concluding half, the manuscript supplies no prototype at all. It stops in a manner apparently quite abrupt, and it may therefore have occurred to the editor that it would figure ill without a more orderly conclusion. Had this continuation in the printed Memoirs contained anything striking or original, it might have been difficult to believe that it could be the unauthorized work of the compiler; but on examination, it will be found to contain little more than a slight review of some leading facts in the author's life as detailed in the Memoirs, from which the purity of his political conduct is meant to be inferred;—such a sketch as the grandson might have ventured to draw from the more ample narrative before him, for the purpose of vindicating the character of his ancestor.

In many other parts of the work, discrepancies between the manu-

script and the printed Memoirs may be observed, of which it would be useless here to attempt any full detail. Thus, in deciphering the names of persons and places, the copyist appears to have been often puzzled, and has committed innumerable errors; but in many other instances he has steered clear of all difficulty, by entirely omitting the doubtful words. A similar expedient has been frequently adopted where the author's meaning was obscure, or where it was not found easy to turn it into modern English. But there are other instances of a still bolder and more licentious deviation from the manuscript, either by altering the true meaning and effect of the original, or by inserting observations and reflections, for which it affords no authority. As examples of the former sort, it may be sufficient to refer to Melville's observations on the characters of the Queen and of the Regent Murray.* Of the latter, among various instances, may be mentioned an interpolation in Melville's admonition to the Queen, on the subject of her condescensions to Rizzio, and other persons who had obtained a temporary ascendant in her favour.†

It would be idle to deny, that these and other circumstances of a similar kind may be adduced, as presumptions or proofs against the supposed identity of the Marchmont manuscript, and of that employed by the editor of the printed Memoirs. It is fortunate, however, that

* V. infr. p. 111, l. 4, compared with printed Memoirs, (first Edit.) p. 43, l. 25.—And p. 222, l. 9, compared with pr. Mem. p. 103, l. 3.

† V. infr. p. 133, l. 18, compared with pr. Mem. p. 55, l. 31—50.

between the manuscript and the printed Memoirs, the diversities are not such as greatly to affect the intrinsic value of the work; and whatever may now be thought of the comparative value of the two, it is obvious, that until another original shall be found, to vindicate their accuracy, the Memoirs published by George Scott must yield in authority to the genuine manuscript of Sir James Melville, and must cease to be relied on as the authentic record of his testimony on the events which he has commemorated,

Of that manuscript the following volume is intended to exhibit a faithful and literal copy, without any variation that can be regarded as a departure from the original. In this, as in every manuscript of the same age, many words are given in a contracted form; the orthography is rude and irregular; and the punctuation, where any is attempted, is in general more likely to mislead than to assist the reader. To avoid these causes of obscurity, the abbreviations have, in general, been removed; and an attempt has been made to accommodate the punctuation to the structure and genuine sense of the composition. Here, however, there is ample room for minute criticism. In many cases, the structure of the composition is so loose and inartificial, as scarcely to admit of a luminous or systematic arrangement; and in others it may perhaps be thought that the genuine sense of the text has been marred or mistaken; it is fit, therefore, the reader should always bear in mind, that on this head he is entitled to exercise his own unfettered judgment.

The original manuscript is without a title; and although that already in common use is sufficiently descriptive of the general nature of the work, the liberty has here been taken of prefixing another still more characteristic, in which the words of the author himself, in the address to his son, have been borrowed.

To those who peruse the work with attention, it will be obvious that the chronological order of events has not always been accurately observed; and the author's deviations from the order of time, while they indicate a strange failure of recollection, have sometimes betrayed him into mistakes in the connexion and sequence of events. Of this, among others that might be quoted, an instance occurs at the conclusion of the volume, where the baptism of Prince Henry, in 1594, is made to precede and lead on to some events that had occurred in the previous year. Others more important might be pointed out; but as it is not here intended to enter into any critical examination of Melville's work, and as no attempt has been made to rectify the errors of the text, it may be enough to add, that even in its errors and defects, whatever be their nature or amount, the author's manuscript has been scrupulously followed.

APRIL, 1827.

APPENDIX.

ADDITIONAL NOTICES RESPECTING THE PUBLICATION OF THE MEMOIRS OF SIR JAMES MELVILLE.

It has been stated, in the Preliminary Notice, that George Scott of Pitlochrie, the avowed Editor of Melville's Memoirs in 1683, was the author's grandson. He appears to have been a needy and bustling projector; and among other plans for retrieving his broken fortunes, he took a very active share in the settlement of the colony of East-New-Jersey; a scheme in which several persons of rank and influence in Scotland had embarked. In 1685, he published a Tract under the following title, "The Model of the Government of the Province of East-New-Jersey in America; and encouragements for such as design to be concerned there. Published for information of such as are desirous to be interested in that place." Edinburgh, 1685 (small 8vo.) It would be out of place here to enter into any account of this work; but in reference to a circumstance founded on in the "Preliminary Notice," it is proper here to quote from it the following words:—"Having at London, in the year 1679, the opportunity of frequent converse with several substantial and judicious gentlemen concerned in the American plantations, I had thereby the opportunity of understanding thoroughly the great advantage redounding to that city from undertakings of this nature," &c. Page 1.

In January 1685, he had obtained from the Scottish government a "Pass," permitting "and allowing him, with his lady, children, and family, and such other persons as he shall engage, to pass from this kingdom either by sea or land to any of his Majesties foreign plantations; provided such persons to be transported by him be not declared traitors, rebels, fugitives," &c.—"And for his further encouragement, the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council were pleased by an act to condescend, that such as were under bond to compear before them when called, should have up their said respective bonds, upon their going with him; whereby they were secured from the apprehension of any process to be, in their absence, intended against them upon that head." Page 269.

In pursuance of the same policy, the Scottish Privy Council thought fit to make a grant to George Scott of nearly an hundred *Covenanters*, who had been for many months confined in Dunotter Castle, to be transported to the plantation in New Jersey. Having embarked the remains of his private fortune in this undertaking, he himself, with his wife, and a great proportion of those on board, were, in the course of the voyage, cut off by a malignant disorder, said to have been occasioned by the putrid state of their provisions. In Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, will be found a detailed account "of the hardships of the prisoners transported to America "with Pitlochy in September (1685.)" B. iii. c. 9. sect. 12.

It has been somewhere remarked that "this undertaking had such an issue as it deserved." The reflection seems unmerited, in so far as the unfortunate Pitlochie was concerned. He has not been accused of inhumanity to the prisoners under his charge; they were the victims of the intolerant policy of the Scottish Government; and had only to choose between the precarious chances of existence in another hemisphere, and the alternative of a lingering death in the dungeons of Dunotter or the Bass.

The first edition of Melville's Memoirs was published with the following title:—
 "The Memoires of Sir James Melvil of Hal-hill; containing an impartial account of
 "the most remarkable affairs of State during the last age, not mentioned by other his-
 "torians: more particularly relating to the Kingdoms of England and Scotland, under
 "the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, and King James. In all which
 "transactions the author was personally and publickly concern'd. Now published from
 "the Original Manuscript. By George Scott, Gent. London, printed by E. H. for
 "Robert Boulter at the Turk's-head in Corn-hill, against the Royal Exchange, 1683."
 (In folio.)

To this work is prefixed the following "Epistle to the Reader:—

"As there is scarce any kind of civil knowledge more necessary or profitable than history, (which is therefore very aptly stiled by the ancients, *The Mistress of Life*;) so of all sorts of history there is none so useful as that which, unlocking the cabinet, brings forth the letters, private instructions, consultations, and negotiations of ministers of state; for then we see things in a clear light, strip'd of all their paints and disguisings, and discover those hidden springs of affairs, which give motion to all the vast machines and stupendious revolutions of princes and kingdoms, that make such a noise on the theatre of the world, and amaze us with unexpected shiftings of scenes and daily vicissitudes.

"Of this latter kind are those Memoirs wherewith we here oblige the world, being the many years transactions and experiences of an eminent publick minister in his long

and faithful services under, and negotiations with several princes, and at as ticklish a juncture and important crisis of affairs as could almost happen in any age; for having, upon the perusal, not only found the same to contain many remarkable passages, not met with in any histories of those times, and in such occurrences as they have touched upon, to be much more exact and full in divers considerable circumstances, but observed it likewise to be furnished with much excellent, plain, honest advice, (delivered by the by,) which might be of great advantage to princes, and with both examples and precepts whereby their counsellors and favourites may be cautioned what just, free, and generous measures they ought to take, if they would not tread the same precipices whereby others have shipwrecked both their masters and themselves; I could not but apprehend myself obliged to communicate such a treasure to the publick, as well for a general good, as, in some measure, to discharge my devoir to the memory of the worthy author, from whom I have the honour to be descended.

“ Three things there are essential to any history, and which chiefly recommend it to the esteem of judicious readers.

“ 1. That the subject-matter be real, and of considerable moment. Women and children may be delighted with, and dote upon romances and silly legends, or listen with attentive admiration to the wars of the pigmies, and adventures of the fairy land. But men of sense always expect solid transactions, and such substantial examples as may be of advantage to improve their judgment in civil wisdom, and the necessary conduct of life.

“ 2. That the author be capable of knowing what he speaks, and have opportunities to discover the certainty and full circumstances of those affairs, whereof he undertakes to treat.

“ 3. And lastly, His honesty, that he be a man of impartial veracity, and firm resolution to observe inviolable that prime law of history, *Ne quid falsi audeat dicere, ne quid veri non audeat*—Not to dare deliver any falshood, nor to conceal any truth.

“ All which characters are happily met in these Memoirs.

“ The matters contained are both lofty and weighty, for they treat of the actions and sufferings of princes and persons of the first rank; open the close consultations and intrigues of several of the ablest ministers of state at that time in Christendom, and shew on what hinges the greatest affairs were turned, and by what artifices managed, so as to be either accomplished or defeated.

“ Nor could any gentleman have better advantages to be acquainted with the most private and reserved scenes of those passages which here he delivers to the world, since in general of all that he writes, he may properly say, *Quorum pars magna fui*; they are matters within his own circle, and declare such as must of necessity fall within his own

notice, since through his hands, and he himself had a principal part in the manage and transacting of them ; being a person concerned in the most knotty affairs (especially relating to Scotland) during his time ; and therefore, as *ocularis testis*, his work may challenge that credit which many authors do but beg from the charity of their courteous readers, at least deserves as much or more esteem as any other writers of that time, who in respect of him were but *auriti*.

“ The author was descended of one of the most honourable families of the kingdom of Scotland, as being third son to the Laird of Raith, and at fourteen years of age was sent by the Queen Regent to be page of honour to her daughter Mary, married to the Dauphin of France. But, by her allowance, he entered into the service of the Duke of Montmorancy (Great Constable of France, chief Minister to Henry II.), who earnestly desired him from her Majesty, having a fancy for the youth's promising parts. He was nine years entertained and employed by him ; and when he grew up to riper years, and tried abilities in matters of greatest importance, an honourable pension for his greater encouragement was settled upon him by that King.

“ Then being desirous, for his farther accomplishment, to travel, having his Queen's leave and his master's permission for that purpose : but passing through Germany, he was detained by the perswasion of the Elector Palatine, and at his earnest entreaties necessitated to condescend to attend at his Court, where he resided three years, being by him employed on several embassies. After which, obtaining his consent to prosecute his former intentions of further travel, he visited Venice, Rome, and the most famous cities of Italy. Returning through Switzerland to the Elector's Court, he there found a call from Queen Mary, then returned to her kingdom of Scotland, after the death of her husband King Francis, to attend her service.

“ The Queen Mother of France at the same time had offered him a large pension and profitable offices, to engage him to wait upon her service at the Court of France ; she finding it her interest at that juncture to keep good correspondence with the Protestant Princes in Germany, and knowing him to be most acceptable to all of them. But though it appeared most advantageous to his private fortunes to have accepted of her noble offers, yet in this, and at all other times, he preferred his loyalty to his interest, and esteemed himself engaged in duty to serve his natural princess rather than a stranger.

“ Upon his arrival in Scotland, he was admitted a Privy Counsellor and Gentleman of her Chamber, being continually employed by her Majesty in matters of her greatest concernments, till her unhappy confinement in Lochlevin : all which he discharged with an exact fidelity. And had she taken his sound advice, many of her misfortunes might have been avoided.

" He was afterwards noticed by all the four successive Regents in a special manner, and intrusted by them with negotiations of greatest moment; though after the Queen's imprisonment he had ever owned the King's side.

" When his Majesty King James came to the government, he was especially recommended by the Queen, then prisoner in England, to him, as one most faithful and capable of doing him service. Whereupon he was likewise by his Majesty admitted a member of his most Honourable Privy Council, and of his Exchequer, as also made Gentleman of his chamber, continuing ever in favour and employment till his Majesty's passage into England, to receive his hereditary right, the crown of that kingdom, upon the death of Queen Elizabeth.

" The King would gladly have taken him along with him thither, offering him considerable advancement there. But being now stricken in years, and desirous to retreat from the troubles of the world, to spend the remainder of his days in contemplation, begged his Majesty's permission thereto. However, after the King's going for London, he found himself in duty engaged once to wait upon his Majesty in that kingdom, and accordingly went thither, and was graciously received; and having attended there some weeks, humbly giving his Majesty his best advice, no court allurements (whereof he had great store) could prevail with him to alter his former resolutions of privacy; so that he returned to his own house, where, as in harbour, reflecting on the past voyage of his life, and all the various weather and difficult storms of publick affairs wherein he had been concerned; to inform the world of the true state of those transactions, and to direct others (especially his children) how to conduct themselves if called to such services, he with his own hand drew up the following Memoirs. How far he deduced them, I cannot certainly determine; 'tis very probable he had given an account of all till the going of the King to England, though this copy extends not so far. However, thou hast all that I have, and nothing more than what is the author's, for I should esteem it impiety to obtrude any thing of my own under his name. And I hope the reader will rather accept kindly what is here happily retrieved, than be offended at me for not furnishing him with more than the injuries of time and ill men have left us.

" And indeed I was not a little encouraged to this publication, by reflecting on the wonderful preservation of so much of it, after so many years, and its then coming so providentially to my hand, it having found the Castle of Edinburgh an asylum till the year 1660, which yet had not been able to afford shelter to the publick records of the kingdom, from the hands of tyrannical usurpers; though I have not met with any information by what way it came thither, far less how secured so long a space, and amidst so many confusions, being there recommended to no man's particular care, but exposed to

the mercy of the rabble ; whence it was wonderfully rescued by Mr Robert Trail, late minister of the Gray-Friars church in Edinburgh, when imprisoned there, to whom the author's hand-writing was exactly known. This Mr Trail, counting it an happiness to have lighted on so great a rarity, knowing the worth and abilities of the author, remitted it to Sir James Melvil of Halhill, the author's grandchild ; from whence it was derived to me ; and having perused it, and thought I should be highly injurious to the publick, if I did not communicate it to the world, together with the author's following *Épistle* to his Son, in the nature of a Dedication, wherein as he shews his deep insight into the intrigues of Princes courts, so it likewise gives an evident demonstration of his sincerity in what he has herein delivered ; and of his firm affection to vertue and honesty, and detestation of vice, and those flattering arts whereby evil and self-seeking counsellors have often abused the best of Princes.

" This is all I thought necessary to advertise thee of, touching this publication, and so leave it to thy candid perusal.

" GEORGE SCOTT."

As the Address of " The Author to his Son," differs in some respects very materially from the Marchmont Manuscript, it has been thought fit to print it here at length. It will serve at the same time as a specimen of the licence of translation practised by the Editor of the Memoirs.

" DEAR SON,

" Seeing thou hast shown thyself so willing to satisfy my expectations of the following, and observing many of my former precepts during thy younger years, I grant now unto thy request the more gladly to put in writing, for thy better memory, several passages which thou hast heard me rehearse concerning the life I did lead during my peregrination through the most part of Europe, from the age of fourteen years till this present hour, together with the prosperous success and hard accidents happened to me ; hoping that thou wilt be so wise as to help thyself in time by my faults, and not wait upon the hurtful experience of the common sort, seeing no man can shew the right way better than he who hath oftentimes chanced upon by roads ; assuring thee that, next unto the special favour of God, nothing stood me in so much stead as the early embracing of unbought experience, by observing the stumbling errors of others. Neither did I ever find anything more dangerous than the frequent slighting to notice any seen example, which was always accompanied with over late repentance.

" The most part of things which I purpose to set down presently, are certain old writ-

ten memorials which were lying beside me in sundry parcels, treating of matters wherein I have been employed my self by sundry Princes, or which I have seen or observed, being in their countries, (as the purpose of themselves will declare) to serve for an example of life, and better behaviour to thee and thy brother, concerning the service of Princes, and meddling in their affairs, which I could not eschew, for I sought not them, but they me. I enforced my self to serve them more carefully, diligently, and faithfully than any of my companions, whereby I won greatest favour with those who were wise grave, aged, and experimented; as with the Prince Elector Palatine, and the old Duke of Montmorancy, Constable of France, who had the whole rule and government of the country under King Henry II., his master and mine, who were so constant, that their favour lasted so long as I remained in their service; not without extream and dangerous envy of such of my companions as were naturally inclined to that vile vice, whom I took great pains, by patience, presents, and humility to gain, obliging them by that carriage to lay aside part of their malice. But when it chanced me after to serve Princes of younger years and of less experience, at the first by the like diligence, care, and fidelity, I obtained their favour above the rest of their servants; yet at length they were carried away by the craft and envy of such as could subtilly creep into their favour, by flattery, and by joining together in a deceitful bond of fellowship, every one of them setting out the other as meetest and ablest for the service of their Prince, to the wreck of him and his country, craving the Prince to be secret, and not to communicate his secrets to any but their society. Thus the Prince's good qualities being smothered with such a company, were commonly led after the passions and particularities of those who shot only at their own marks, some of them continually possessing his ear, and debarring therefrom all honest, true, and plain speakers, so that no more hope could be left of a gracious government, nor place for good men to help their Prince and country, wherethrough fell out many foul, strange, and sad accidents, as may be afterward seen and read: Princes misused and abused, their country robbed, their best and truest servants wrecked, and the wicked instruments at last perished with all their high and fine pretences; others, ay, such-like, succeeding in their place, never one taking example to become more temperate and discreet, because of the destruction of those who went before them, but as highly and fiercely following their greedy, vain, and ambitious pretences, obtaining the like tragical reward. For my part, albeit I had seen, and oft times read of the wreck and backward rewards of all such true faithful servants and counsellors as were most careful of the weal and safety of their Prince, in resisting and gainstanding the devices of the wicked sort, and sometimes minding the Prince not to suffer himself to be led by those who commit so many wrongs and errors at their appetite; yet I left not off from what I thought my duty, neither for

fear nor danger, to oppose myself continually to the false fetches of such minions, until, I must confess, rather following the extremity than the right midst, I lost my credit with the Prince, and tint my reward, reposing over much trust upon their constancy and my good service, which hath been oft an hurtful opinion unto honest men. With over-late repentance I was compelled to lament, as did Monsieur de Boussie when he was left and misliked by his master, crying out, 'Alas! wherefore should men be earnest to surpass their neighbours in worthiness and fidelity; seeing that Princes who get the fruit of our labours, like not to hear of plainness, but of pleasant speeches, and are easily altered without occasion upon the truest servants?' I perceive well that to continue in their favour, they should not be served with uprightness, but with wyliness; and instead of using free language for their honour and preservation, their servants should frame and accommodate themselves to their pleasures and will; which may be easily done by the dullest sort of men: But my daft opinion was, that I might stand by honesty and vertue; which I find now to be but a vain imagination, and a scholastical discourse, unmeet to bring men to any profitable preferment: And yet my nature will not suffer me to proceed by any other means, I being of the same mind and nature, and, by a just call and command, first of the Queen his Majesty's mother, and afterwards of himself, having more matter and greater warrant than many others, as well to admonish, advertise, and reprove the Prince to gainstand all evil instruments, took the more freedom, finding myself thereto in duty obliged, against the rule given by Seneca to Lucullus, saying, 'If thou desirest to be agreeable to great Princes, do them many services, and speak to them few words.' Plato was of the same opinion, the favour of Princes being obtained with great pain and travel, and retained with great difficulty; therefore should the wise courtier be careful of offending them, either by gesture, word, or deed: For being once in disgrace with them, they may well forgive, but they shall never be so great with them again, do what they will. Sometimes a man may discreetly put the Prince in remembrance of his long and good service; but cast not up thy service, nor be importunate in demanding reward: Therefore be not so audacious as to find fault with thy Prince's proceedings, nor to give advice unrequired, or advertisements without good grounds of being credited; for Princes notice not any thing but what is told them by their favourites and minions, who commonly seem to allow and take pleasure of whatsoever recreation they find the Prince inclined to; not as by way of flattery, but as by way of yielding, and leaving their own pleasure to take pains to please the Prince; they never appear discontent, although he do not reward them in due time; they never challenge him of breach of promise, in case he break it. In many of these rules I confess I have overshot my self, for too great fervency towards the Prince's service, having never mind-

ed my own particular advancement and profit : For otherwise I should have, at the earnest desire of the House of Guise, my old and great acquaintances while I was residing at the Court of France, titled in the Queen's ear, That her rebellious subjects, who had, at their own hands, without her authority, changed religion, should have been exemplarily punished as rebels and traitors : That if she condescended to acquiesce to the establishing the reformed religion, it would be constructed as meanness of spirit, and that she wanted authority to curb such a mutinous people : That it was below her, at the arrogant desire of her nobility, and to remove the idle jealousies of her other subjects, to lay aside Riccio, as being derogatory from her honour, that she could not have liberty to keep about her what servants she pleased ; seeing hence there might be ground to alledge there were other bad designs to follow, when in the first place they desired to separate from her such as they knew would be most trusty to her, and in whom she could most confide. This kind of language would probably have most suited her Majesty's humour, and would have procured to myself great bribes from Riccio and his Popish friends for my reward. But I thought it was more the part of a true friend to her Majesty to acquaint her, that seeing her subjects had now embraced the Protestant religion, looking upon the Popish principles as damning, it was not her interest to do any thing that could give them any jealousy that she intended to alter their religion ; that as the entertaining of Riccio gave to all such some apparent ground of harbouring such apprehensions, he being a known enemy to their religion ; that having so much of her favour, he would undoubtedly use his endeavours to perswade her to re-establish that religion which she herself professed ; so it gave just ground of discontent to the nobility, who would look upon any extraordinary honour confer'd by her Majesty upon a stranger, as highly prejudicial to them, who were as willing and able to serve her as he could be ; and reflecting upon their loyalty, as if she had more trust to place in a stranger than in her own native countrymen and born subjects. Had I not more regarded my Princess her interest than mine own, I should have accepted the large offers made me by the Earl of Bothwell, when he desired me to subscribe with the rest of his flatterers that paper wherein they declared it was her Majesty's interest to marry the said Earl ; but I chose rather to lay myself open to his hatred and revenge, whereby I was afterward in peril of my life : and tell her Majesty, that those who had so advised her, were betrayers of her honour for their own selfish ends, seeing her marrying a man commonly judged her husband's murderer, would leave a tash upon her name, and give too much ground of jealousy, that she had consented to that foul deed. I wanted not fair offers from Randolph and Killegrew, residents here from the Court of England, if I would have in so far complied with their designs, as not to have divulged what I perceived to be their drifts,

which I could not conceal, finding them so destructive to the kingdom. I had the fair occasion of making a large fortune to myself, if I would have gone along with the Earl of Arran, by counselling the King's Majesty to follow his violent advices ; but finding them so far contrary to his interest, I did think myself engaged to warn his Majesty, that he was a dangerous man who gave him such advices ; that if he followed the same, he would run himself upon inevitable precipices ; that his Majesty's hearkning to the Duke of Lennox and him, the one a Papist, the other a wicked and ungodly man, would breed jealousies in his subjects' minds, which might produce dangerous effects. This freedom, and many times the like, I took ; which though his Majesty accepted in good part, yet I thereby contracted me store of enemies : But it was always my principle, rather to hazard myself by plain speech when it was necessary, than to expose my master to danger by silence or base flattery. And though the common practice, which I mentioned ere while, may seem to thrive best in some courts for a time ; yet under grave and wise Princes, and at long run, the honest maxims will prove most acceptable and safe : Therefore, I willingly opened these things to thee, that thou mayst as well know what is usually done, as what ought to be. There is a certain discretion to be used, that is free both from sawciness and assentation ; and a man may many times, if he skill it aright, give his Prince good counsel, contrary to his inclinations, yet without incurring his displeasure. This thou oughtest to study, if ever thou be called to publick affairs ; and though thou mayest bend with the necessity of some accidents, and yield to the times in some things, though not going just so as thou would have matters to go ; and humour the Prince in an ordinary business, to gain opportunity of doing greater good to him and thy country at a more lucky season ; yet be sure that thou never engage in any disloyalty, cruelty, or wickedness, nor suffer any thing to pass that thou seest will tend to his ruin or grand prejudice, without noticing it to him in some humble manner : And though for that time it be disrelishing or slighted, yet when he sees the effects follow that thou admonishedst him of, he will love thee the better, and rather hearken to honest advice for time future. And withal thou wilt obtain the favour and blessing of Almighty God, whom thou must at all times endeavour faithfully and uprightly to serve, if ever thou expectest bliss in this or the other world ; to whose gracious Providence I commit thee, with the hearty well wishes and benison of

“ Thy Dearly Loving Father,

“ JAMES MELVIL.”

XXVII

The second edition of Melville's *Memoirs*, was published at Edinburgh in the year 1735, in octavo. The following advertisement was prefixed :—

“The character of Sir James Melvil, the author of the following *Memoirs*, being so well known to all that are conversant in the transactions of those times in which he wrote, and particularly, his great candour and impartiality, as well as his deep knowledge in the affairs which he relates, and in which he himself had a considerable share, being so much celebrated by some of the best historians who have appeared since his time, it is not to be expected that any thing that we can say concerning him or his performance will add any new recommendation to them. All that is incumbent on us is, to inform our readers, that the copies of the former edition being long since sold off, and now very rarely to be met with, except in the libraries of the curious, we were prevailed upon, by the advice of several judicious and learned gentlemen, to undertake this new edition. In doing whereof, great care has been taken to rectify several mistakes and errors that had escaped in the former edition ; particularly in the names of persons and places, whether occasioned by the faultiness of the copy, or, which is more probable, by the ignorance of the printer, who has therein also misled the French translator of it in several instances. We have moreover been at no small pains to adjust the pointing of the sentences, which has been so much neglected in the former editions, as in many places to render the author's sense obscure, and sometimes altogether unintelligible ; which any who compares the two editions together, will easily discover. Finally, that nothing might be wanting on our part, we have corrected the Index in a great many places, and rendered it more accurate and useful than the former one. Upon the whole, we may venture to hope, that this Work, besides the considerable abatement made in the Price, will come abroad with several advantages above what it had in the first publication of it.”

The work was reprinted at Glasgow in 1751 ; 12mo.

A Translation into French was published at the Hague in 1694 ; 2 tom. 8vo.—It was reprinted at Lyons in 1695 ; and at Amsterdam in 1704.

A new or improved Translation appeared in 1745, under the following title :—“ *Memoires de Melvil, traduits de l'Anglois, avec des additions considerables.—A Edimbourg, Chez Barrows et Young, M.DCC.XLV, 3 tom.*” small 8vo. The work was evidently printed abroad. The additions, which fill the third volume, consist of Letters, written chiefly by Queen Mary, selected from various printed works. There is prefixed the following “ *Avertissement* :”

“ *Les Memoires que l'on donne au public ne doivent pas lui être inconnus—Ils ont*

parû en françois il y a près de 50 ans. Mais le stile de cette traduction est fort suranné, et d'ailleurs elle est si rare, qu'elle ne se trouve presque plus que dans les grandes Bibliothèques, et dans les cabinets de quelques Scavans. Un grand Magistrat a désiré que l'on donnât à ces Memoires une nouvelle forme, et m'a fait l'honneur de me charger de ce travail. J'ai donc refondu entièrement cette traduction, je me suis appliqué à la rendre conforme à l'original Anglois, dont le traducteur s'étoit quelquefois écarté, et je l'ai augmentée d'un volume qui a une liaison naturelle avec ces Memoires. C'est un recueil des lettres de Marie Stuart, les unes originales, les autres traduites de l'Anglois et du Latin. J'ajouterai aux eclaircissemens que l'Editeur Anglois nous a donnés au sujet de ces Memoires, le jugement que M. l'Abbé de M. en porte dans l'Histoire de Marie Stuart. 'Melvil étoit le contemporain, le Ministre, et l'ami de la Reine d'Ecosse Ses Memoires sont le plus précieux monument historique de son regne Ils sont écrits avec cette simplicité et cette candeur qui font le caractère de l'honnête homme, et qui inspirent la confiance Il suivoit sans passion le parti de l'erreur où le malheur de sa naissance l'avoit engagé ; et il ne montre ni fiel, ni partialité contre les Catholiques.'"

COMPARATIVE SPECIMENS OF THE HANDWRITING
OF SIR JAMES MELVILLE.

No. I. Extracts from the Manuscripts of Sir James Melville's Memoirs,
in the possession of the Right Hon. Sir G. H. Rose.

No. II. An Original Letter from Sir James Melville to Sir Thomas
Randolphe, in the Lansdowne Collection of Manuscripts, now in the
British Museum; Burghley Papers, Num. xv. 20.

No. I.

MS. Memoirs, Page 113.

The Regent, wha had bene brocht be his facillite to brek with the Duc of Norfolk, repented him again sa schone as Liddingtoun had schawen him the danger, and desyrit the accusation to be renderit to him again; alleging that he had some mair to add vnto it. Bot they said, that they wald hald that quhilk they had, and wer redy to receaue any vther addition when he pleased to geue it in. The Duc of Norfolk had anough ado to keip his contenance; Mester Jhon Wod winket vpon the secretary Cicill, wha smyled again vpon him; the rest of the Regentis company wer lauchen vpon vther; the secretary Liddingtoun had a sair hart. The Regent cam fourth of the consail house with the tear in his eye, and past to his logging at Kingistoun, a myll from court, wher his factious frendis had anough ado to comfort him.

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MS. Memoirs, Page 161.

The vrgent necessite of the tym, maist noble and excellent prince, causes me to be sa langsome and tedious. Humbly craving pardon, and hartly kissing your Maiesteis hand, I prey the eternell,
Sir, to grant your hyenes ane lang and happy lyf. From Halhill, this
15 of October, 1583.

Your Maiesteis maist humble and obedient seruitour,

JAMES MELVILLE.

No. II.

As armytis wer wont to retire them in solitary places, euen so am I drawen to a quyet maner of lyving, content wyth the portion which God has geuen me, wha has also mouit the hartis of my l. Regentis g. and the nobilite to be protectours of my quyetnes ; quhilk is such that I neyther am curious of newes nor desirous of negotiations. I couet till vnderstand of your weillfair sene ye was maried, and how mester Killigrewe and mester Walsingame dois, and how mester Dru Drowrie dois, and how the marchall is in prosperete. Wer not that ye ar bot laitly maried, I wald pitie your caice that can get na rest bot is still occupied with combersome occupations, wherby it apperis that sic as procured for yow this voyage wes your frend, and gene ye procured it your self, ye was your awen frend. I haue conceaued a fyrm oppinion that ye wald haue schifted till fairer wether, wer not that ye ar vtterly myndit till peacefy our troublit estait, wherby ye may wyp away the wicked oppinion of the vulgaire that beleues the contrary, and now and then will speak ther ple-sour. What so euer he be that parturbes my quyet lyf and estait with any busynes will get as mekle thanks as Alexander had of Deogines, when he stod betwix hym and the sonne ; therefore I pray yow fauour my quyetnes and find na falt that I presse not till com wher ye ar, for my affection toward you of auld is sa ruted, that it most be yet a greter storm and a more vehement blast before it can be blawen out and away, Howbeit, I haue yet matter and store of flyting keping for conuenient tym. this with my hartly commen-dations I tak my leif, preying the eternell till send a gud succes to your affairs concern-yng concord. Wreten at mordow karny this xiiij day of marche.

Your crabit auld and constand

affectioned frend

JAMES MELVILLE.

(*In dorso.*)

To the Rycht Honorable
Sir Thomas Randolphe, Knycht,
one of the Quenes ma^{teis}.
. . inglandis ambassadours
presently in Scotland.

SIR JAMES MELVILLE'S MEMOIRS.

OUR yong Quen Marie being contractit with Kyng Edwart the sext then only heritour of England as hir Maieſte was of Scotland, that this haill yll mycht be junit in ane monarchie, hir Maieſte be the practyſes of hir Frenche parentis and Scotis prelatis was tranſported in France be the weſt ſea. Whereupon fell out a furious wair betuen the twa contrees, to the loifs of many Scotifmens lyves at the battaill of Pincky, wherin France wer gret medlers and ſend heir a ſex thowſand men of wair, and alſo Jehan de Monluc biſchop of Vallance for ambaffadour to the Gouvernour, and Quen mother ſifter to the Duc of Guiſe. And when the ſaid ambaffadour was to retourn in France, it pleiſit the Quen to ſend me with him to be placit paige of honour with the Quen hir dochter, I being then 14. yeares paſt. Bot the ſaid biſchop paſt firſt in Yreland, be commandement of the King his maiſters letter, to knaw mair particulairly the motion and lyklyhead of the offers maid be Onell, Odonell, Odocart and Caloch, willing to caſt aff the yok of England and becom ſubieſt to the King of France, provyding that he wald procure the Paipes gift of Yreland, and then ſend to ther help 2000 hacbuters 200 leicht horſe men and four canons.

P. 4. The said ambaffadour fchippit in at Vruyng in the moneth of Januar the year 1549 toward Yreland, and was stormefted be the way in a little yll callit Sand yll before Kiltyre, wher we wer compellit to tary xvij dayes be raifoun of the ftorme. From Sande we failed towardis Yreland, bot the ftorme was yet fa extream that with gret danger of the fchip and of our lyues we entrit in at the mouth of Lochfeull in Yreland, vpon Fastrons euen in the said year 1549; for the skipper and marineris had tint all hope of faiffetie, having left ther ankers cutted behind them the nycht before. Before our landing we fent ane George Paris, who had been fent in Scotland from the gret Onell and his af-fociatis, wha landit at the houle of a gentelman that had married Odocartis dochter dwelling at the loch ege, wha cam in to our fchip and welcomed vs, and convoyed ws to his hous wher we refted that nycht. The nyxt mornyng Odocarte cam ther and convoyed ws to his hous quhilk was a gret dark tour, wher we had cauld cheir as hering and bifcuit, for it was lentroun. Ther finding twa Englifh grey freris that wer fled out of England, for K. Edward the 6. was yet alyue, the said freres perfaving the bifchop to mak a compt of Odocartis dochter, wha fled him continowally, they brocht to him a woman that fpak Englis to ly with him; whilk harlet being keped quyetly in his chamber, fand a little glafs within a kaice ftanding in a window, for the coffers wer all wet be the fea wallis that fell in the fchip during the ftorm. Bot fche beleuit it had bene ordonit to eat becaufe it had ane odoriphant fmell, therefore fche lickit it clean out; quhilk put the bifchop in fic a rage that he cryed out for impatience, and difcouerit his harlettrie and his colair in fic fort as the freris fled and the woman folowed. Bot the Yrifch men and his auen faruandis leuch at the matter, for

it was a phioll of the only maist precious balm that grew in Egipt, whilk Solyman the gret Turc had geuen in a present to the said bischop efter he had bene twa yeares ambassadour for the K. of France in Turkey, and was esteamed worth twa thousand crownis. In this mean tym that we remanit at Odocartis house, his yong dochter wha fled fra the bischop cam and socht me whereuer I was, and brocht a preft with hir that culd speak Englis, and offerit gif I wald mary hir to goe with me till any part wher I pleasit,—after I had geuen hir thankis, and schew that I was yet yong and had na rentis and was boun till France.

Now the ambassadour met at a quyet part with Onell and his affistors and hard ther offers and ouertures. And ther cam and met him the Patriark of Yreland wha was a Scotis man born callit Wachop, and was blind of baith his eyn, yet had bene dyuers tymes at Rome be post. He did gret honour to the ambassadour, and convoyed him to see St Patrikis purgatorie, quhilk is lyk ane auld cole hugh that had tane fyre, be raifoun of the reak that ascendit out of the holl. From Odocartis hous we went to the dwelling place of the bischope of Roy, not far from the narrow firth that runns throw Lochfeull to the sea. The said Earisch bischop had bene also at Rome; and ther we rested a thre weekis, tarieing vpon ane lomfaid or heland bark quhilk James Maconell fuld haue send from Kiltyre with his brother Angus to cary ws bak to Dombartane; quhilk being com for ws, we parted to ane castell quhilk the said Maconell had in Yreland, and fra that we inbarkit and rested a nycht in the yll of Jura, and the nyxt nycht in the yll of But. Bot be the way we tint our ruddour and was in gret perell of drownynge; bot Angus efter he had tane down the faill said that we wer saif, and had drownit wer not that ded of his.

P. 5. When we cam to Kiltyre James Maconell traited ws honorably, and said that the bischop was the welcommer for my faik, because he was frendly intraited of my father when he was wardit in the castell of Dombar during the tym that my father was capten therof; of whom he maid ane honorable report to the said bischop,—occasion that I was ay the langer the better traited; for the bischop said he beleuit to haue bene rather welcom for that he was recommendit be the Quen douagier as ambaffadour to the K. of France. Alwais Maconell wald haue me to fit at the head of the burd. Efter he had cased land ws at Dombartane be his said brother Angus, we raid to Stirling, wher efter aucht dayes the ambaffadour tok his leaue at the Quen and raid again to Dombartane, wher ther wer twa Frenche schippis (that had brocht filuer in Scotland to pay the French foldiours) redy to refaue ws. Sa failing by the yll of Man and langis the fouth coist of Yreland, we landit at Conquet in Britany aucht dais efter our inbarking, not without some dangers be the way baith of Englis schippis and a gret storme, sa that anes at midnycht the marineris cryed that we wer all loist.

At Brest in Britany the bischop tok post toward the court of France, quhilk was in Paris for the tym. And because I was yong and he supponit I mycht not indure the post, he directed twa Scottis gentilmen with whais father he was acquainted in Scotland to be cairfull for me be the way; for we bocht thre little naigis to pass be journey ryding to Paris. He also requested the said twa brether to be cairfull for me and not to let me want any necessary thing be the way, quhilk he fuld recompense at meting. He left with me sa mekle filuer as to by a naig and to be my expences till Paris. Now we thre inquyred and fand out twa yong men, the ane a Frenchman the other a Britone,

that wer to ryd that fame way; as also a yong gentilman of Spain wha was passing also to the college at Paris. Our first dayes journey from Brest was to a town callit Laderny, wher we wer all sex logit in a chamber with thre bedis. The tua Frenche had ane bed, the tua Scotis another, and the young Spainart and I the thrid bed. First I hard the twa Scottifinen devyfen how they wer directed be the bishop to let me want nathing; "therfore" said they "we will pay for his ordinair all the way, and fall compt vp twyfe as mekle to his master when we com to Paris, and sa fall wone our awen expences." Then the twa Frenche not beleving that any of us vnderstod Frenche wer faying betuen tham, "thir strangers are all yong, and knawes not the fassion of the hosteleries, therefore we fall deall and reken with the oiftis at euery repast and fall cause the strangers pay mair nor the custome is, and that way fall we saif our expensis," and went about the nyxt day to put it in execufion. Bot I culd not refrain lauching in my mynd, and tald the yong Spainart, for I vnderstod alredy the Frenche, sa we war vpon our gardis. Yet the tua Scotis yong men wold not consent that I fuld pay for myself, hopping still to begyll the bishop, but the Spainart and I wret vp euery dayes compt. Be the way ryding throw a wood the tua Frenchemen had appointed vther tua femyng to ryd with ws, quhilk tua in the midis of the wood leichted aff ther horse and drew out ther fuerdis. The twa Frenchemen behalding our contenance and feing that we maid us for deffence, they tua drew out also ther fuerdis. Than they maid a sport of it, and wald bot se as they allegit wha wald be feared and wha wald be stout, in caice we mycht be fet vpon be brigandis betuen that and Paris. Bot the tua last lowns left vs at the nyxt loging, and the twa Scotis scollairs never obtenit paye-

P. 6. ment fra the bifchop, for ther pretendit fraud. We wer xiiij dayes in ryding betuen Breft and Paris, wher we arryuit efter Paice in the moneth of Aprill the year 1550.

The fpaice of a moneth efter our arriual at Paris, the bifchop of Vallence was fent to Rome, and becaufe he tok poft he left me behind him at Paris to learn to play vpon the lut and to wret Frenche. I can not tell wherfore he prefented me not to our yong Quen as he promysed; albeit efterwart he faid that he was myndit to mak me his air.

The caufe wherfore the K. of France fend him to Paip Jules is this. Paip Paull the 3. had changit fome landis of the kirk with Parme and Plaifance, twa townis appartenyng of befoir to the duckry of Mylan, and gaue them to his fone Piere Louys Farnez, wha married his eldeft fone Octauio vpon the baftard dochter of themperor Charles V. The faid Piere Louys being mourdrift for his deteftable vyces, the nyxt Paip callit Jules pretendit to bring again the faid twa townis to the kirk, in ftead of the other kirklandis that wer efcambiond for them; compelling the Duc Octauio, (finding him felf onable to gainftand the Paipes forces) to put the faid townis in the K. of Frances cuftody; for he was in afgret fear of themperour his gud father, wha had gottin the poffeffion of the ducdome of Mylan. And to that effect he fend his brother Orace Duc of Cafters in France, to whom K. Henry 2. of France gaif his baftard dochter in mariage; the K. of France being as ernest to have a fut in Ytaly as was themperour to ftop him therfra, be raifoun of Mylan and Neaples quhilk the K. claimed and themperour had in poffeffion. And fa fchon as he faw the Frenche garnifouns within the town of Parma he tok plaine part with the Paip; quhilk moued the K. of France to pratek a paice with K. Edward the fext of Eng-

land, be the meanis of the Duc of Northumberland, wha in secret had a strait frendship with France, and had a mark of his auen that he schot at, as his proceedingis efterwart declaired.

The paice with England being concludit, that K. Edward fuld mary Elyzabeth eldest dochter to K. Henry 2. of France, and that he fuld geue his consent that the Quen of Scotland wha was betrowthed to him fuld be married with Francois Delphin of France, in quhilk paice Scotland being also comprehendit, in the mean tym the bischop of Vallence returnyng fra Rome without any acceptable expedition, wer causes also that the dealling betwen France and Onell of Yreland cessit. And in the mean tym the K. of France fet fourth ane proclamation forbidding his haill subiectis not to fend to Rome for any bulles or confirmation of benifices; quhilk together with the agrement with England pat the Paice in a gret fear that France wald become protestantis for dispyt, as K. Hary the 8. had done laitly of before; and was the mair confirmed in this oppinion be raifoun of ane army that was schortly efter maid redy to pass in Germany to the aid of the princes protestantis, wher the K. Henry 2. led him self in persone 1. thowland men. For then many of the Germanis wer becom protestantis, throw the insolent avarice of the Paice and schameles proceedingis of his fellers of pardones, and be the zeall and baldnes of Martin Luter; wha being perfecuted therfore, was menteanit and affisted be the gud Duc Jhon Frederik of Sax, with the Landgraue and other princes of the empyre.

Wherupon themperour Charles 5. tok occasioun, vnder pretext of menteaning the catholik Romain religion, to pretend to bring the empyre and haill dominions therof as patrimony to him and his posterite;

and that way abandonit his gud sone the Duc Octauio to the Paipes discretion, for his greter assistance against the Germanis; quhilk pretence the emperor brought anes till a neir passe. For efter that the emperor had vincust the protestantis in battaill and tane presoner the Duc Jhon Frederik, he past throw the maist part of the provinces and fre townes of Dutcheland and tok fra them ther liberties, placing officers at his plesour; and gat fra them of giftis and ranfomis xvj hundreth thousand crownis and v hundreth piece of arteillerie. Yet he redoutted the Landgraue, wha was a vaillyant prince and chancit to be absent from the said battaill. Therefore he delt with the Duc Maurice gud sone to the said Landgraue to perswad his gud father to com in vnder assurance and promys, quhilk the emperor brak, retenyng the said Landgraue captyue vpon the subtilite of a fillabe.

This Duc Maurice was cusing to the Duc of Sax captyue, and had obtenit the electorat of Sax, quhilk the emperor tok fra the Duc his cusing and gaif him; wherfore he assisted with the emperor as a fyn courteour, and helped him gretly in his victories against his contrey and frendis for promotion. Bot when the Landgraue cryed out vpon him, calling him schelm, poltroun, traitour, and disceauer of him whais dochter he had married, he maid oft tymes earnest fut to the emperor for the libertie of his gud father in vain; the emperor alleging na promys to be broken vnto the said Landgraue, causing the letter of promys and pacification to be red in his presens in the Dutch leid, wherintill ther was a wreten word quhilk mycht haue bene interpret dyuerfly; to wit this word *enig* was interpret be the emperor *perpetuell*, and be the Landgraue and Duc Maurice it was tane for *null* or

nane; bot they culd not mend them selues, for themperour said that the Landgraue suld not be keped in perpetuell prisoun. Sa the Landgraue was twa yeares sa straitly keped be the Spaniartis that oft in the nycht they held a leicht candle to his faice to be assured that he was sleping, and angred him sa that for dispyt he wald spit in ther faices; crying out continoually against Maurice, wha was not slepen, bot had sent secretly to the K. of France, declairing how not only his gud father and he wer sa disceaues and misused be themperour, bot also how that he had begun alredy to raue the liberties of the empyre, to change the estait in a monarchie, against his aith and promyse maid at his election and crounation; and that, vnder pretext till suppress heresies, sa assisted be the Paip that he was lyk to prevaill; preing the King not till suffer them that wer his frendis to be sa opprest, nor his compeditours to ryse ouer gret. Wherupon the said K. tok occasion till convoy his armye in Allemaigne, feamyng to seak ther liberte; he tok and pat him self in possession in his by passing, of Mets, Tow and Verdun, thre gret Imperiall townis and bischopricks, quhilk he bruikis to this hour.

In the mean tym the Duc Maurice, lying at the seige of Madebourg lieutenant for themperour, making na mair semblance of discontentment for the Landgraues retention, bot rather feamyng to be sa obliff vnto themperour that had sa hichly aduancit him, lyk a fyn courteour that he wald set forduart all his maisters procedingis and commandementis be they richt or wrang. Yet the Duc of Alb allegit in secret counsaill with themperour that Maurice lingert ouer lang at the seige of the said toun, and that he was to be suspected because themperour had offendit him. Bot Granvell bischop of Arras in the contraire said that

fic doild Dutch dronken headis nedit not to be doutted; and then that tua of the faid Dukis confellours wer penfioners to his facred Maieſte, and aduertift him continowally of all the Dukis maift ſecret deliberations and doingis. Yet they thocht expedient to fend for the Duc, to ſe gif he wald obey or mak ſome excuſe.

- P. 8. Bot the Duc Maurice had the ſubtilite aſgret as any Spaniard of themperours confaill, and knew weill anough how that themperour had pratikit tua of his ſecretaires and confellours; diſcembling to knaw any thing therof, aperit till do nathing by them, and to deliberat all his enterpryſes in ther prefens, wherby themperour was abuſed; and when the faid Duc was wreten for, he tok poſt incontinent towardis the court, having in his company ane of the ſuburnit confellours; whom he ſent before till aſſure themperour that he was folowing at leaſer, be raiſown of a fairnes in his ſyd quhilk uſed ſometymes to vex him. Bot the Duc had ſecretly commandit his lieutenant to bring efter him the haille army with all poſſible diligence and till marche nycht and day, ſa that he ſurpryſed themperour; wha was compellit to ryſe from his ſupper and fle fourth of Ynsbruck with torche liecht, and ſa vtterly out of Dutcheland that he ſet never his fut within it again.

This being done he ſent to the K. of France, wha was with his armye beſyd Straſbourg, geving him gretthankis for his paines, aduertiffing him of themperours fleing, praing him to return hame with his armye; for Maurice was miſcontent of the taking of the thre Imperiall townis; and in the mean tym haifted throw the contre and reſtored euery fre town and circle to ther formair liberteis.

Themperour again fearing to be compellit, ſet at liberte the Duc of Sax and the Landgraue of Heſſe. Finding him ſelf fruſtrat of his he-

ritable expectation, and vnderstanding that the Duc Maurice had a gret gruge against the King for raving fraudfully the thre forsaide townis from the empyre, he delt with Maurice secretly, allowing all that he had done; and that way being reconcyled, baith together cam, in vain, and layed the siege to the town of Metz, quhilk the K. of France brukis with the rest vnto this day. Wherby may be obseruit how dangerous it is in ciuil discention to bring in gret companies of strangers for to support any of the parties.

This mekle anent the affaires of Dutcheland may appeir to be on-partinent for me to wret, because I was bot yong for the tym, and not present in the French armye, for the bischop of Vallence remanit behind at Paris. Bot efterwart when I was in Germany, I was mair particularly infourmed of the haill be the gud Prince Electour Palatin then I beleue any other knew that has wreten therof.

During the tym that the said bischop abaid at Paris, not willing to tyn tym, was desyrous to haue some entre in the art of matematicque; and for that effect fand out a gret scollair in dyuers high scyences callit Cavatius, and another callit Monsr. Taggot. This Cavatius tok occasion in oft conference to tell him of tua familier spritis that wer in Paris, awating vpon ane auld schephird wha in his youth had feruit a prest, wha at his death left them to him. Wherupon the bischop tok purpos, at the Kingis retournyng from his voyage of Al-maigne, to bring onto the K. the said Cavatius, wha offerit to loise his head incaice he schew not the tua spritis to his Maieste or till any that he wald fend, to com in the fourm of men doggis or catis. Bot the K. caused burn the schephird, and imprisonit the said Cavatius, and wald not see the saidis spritis.

The other learnit man callit Taggot had bene also curious in findre of the faid fcyences, and had learnit be the art of palmefterie, as he faid to me him felf, that he wald die before he atteanit vnto the age of 28. yeares. "Wherfore" faid he "I knaw the trew religion to be exercyfed at Geneua; ther will I go and end in Godis feruice." Sa he did, and died ther at Laufan as he had confcauit the oppinion, as I gat word afterwart.

P 9. At this tym the bifchop of Vallence being at court in St Germanis he purposed to prefent me vnto the Quen. In the mean tym capten Ringan Cocburn, then ane of the Scotis gard, had obtenit leaue to pafs in Scotland and was newly returnit. This capten was a bufy medler, and had fometymes refuge and frequentation amang my frendis, and alkit gene I culd fpeak gud Frenche, quhilk I denyed. Alwayes he faid that he had a matter of importance to fchaw vnto the Conftable, wha then had the haill reull of France vnder the King, and requested me to be his interpretair, for he wanted French him felf; bot he wald not declair the purpos bot in the Conftables prefens. We attendit at the yffue of his denner, when he was to geue audience to dyuers ambaffadours. He commandit us to await at his chamber dur about twa efternun, quhilk hour he failed not to keip. Efter he had hard the ambaffadours and maid report vnto the K. of ther demandis, advyſing him what till anfwer, now we twa wer brocht into his quyet cabinet, wher he was allane with a fecretary callit Baſk. Then the capten began to declair how that, in his lait being in Scotland, bifchop Jhon Hamiltoun, haill gyder of the Gouvernour his brother, had bene fa extream feak that his fpeache was tint, with all hope of lyf or recouery. Wherupon the Quen dougier of Scotland practyfed fa with the Gouver-

nour that he gaue ouer the gouvernement to hir and maid hir Quen Regent;—willing me to schaw the fame vnto the Constable. Bot I requyred to knaw farther. Then he procedit to tell how that, when the bischop of St Androwes had recouerit his speach and health, be the help of Cardanus ane Ytalien magicien, he curfed and cryed out that the Gouvernour was bot a very beaft for geuen ouer of the gouvernement, feing that ther was bot a skitteren lasse betuen him and the crown. Bot I grew red when the capten putted vpon me to tell this taill to the Constable, wha culd perfaue how laith I was to rehearse it. At lenth when my said Lord preffit me, I said I thocht it not worthy that his L. fuld loife any gret tym therwith; and sa thocht he him self, for he hard it not out, bot askit my name, and caufit his secretery to wret it vp; and gene I was a kyn to the capten, wha ansuerit in ill Frenche that I was his sifter sone. The Constable sperit at me gif it was sa; bot I denyed that I was sib to him. Then he wald wit whom with I was. I schew him how that the bischop of Vallence had commiffion from the Quen Regent of Scotland to place me paige with hir dochter. Then he inquyred gif I wald tary with him in caice he mycht obtean the said bischops consent. I said I beleuit that he durst not, in respect of his promyse to the Quen Regent. He said again that he had moyen to present me to the Quen when euer I pleasit, bot gif I wald tary with him he fuld aduance me and do me gud. Then I granted, gif he obtenit the bischops gud will, to serue him. That same day he forgot not till defyre me at the bischop, wha lent me his gud word, and tald me efterwart that the said Constable was the best master in France and mycht do me maist gud. Sa I entred in seruice with the said Constable in the year of God 1553 in the moneth of May.

I grant that thir litle triffelis ar not worthy to be put in wret, wer not to testify of Godis gracious gudnes to the posterite of his faithfull; as Dauid rehearfes in the psalme, "I haue bene yong and am waxing auld, and yet I never saw the just abandonit nor ther childrene," &c. For it was God that moued the Quen Regentis hart to tak tua of my brether in hir seruice, and to send me in France to be plaicit with hir dochter our Quen; wha also moued the bischop to desyre me to tary with him; and the same God moued the Constables hart to desyre me.

P. 10. In this year 1553 in the moneth of May, the Constable of France convenit a gret armye, and being the Kingis lieutenant led them first to Amyance in Picardie. For when the K. of France was in Dutche-land with his army, to help as he wald appeir the princes of thempyre, Frau Mary Quen of Hungarie then a widow, sifter to the said Empe-roure and Regent of Flanders, enterit with ane armye in Picardie and brunt the Kingis palice of Foulanbrey, with findre vther litle townis and vilages, thinking to cause the K. com back to debait his auen boundis. Sa that the wair entrit heit betuen them; and the K. in his back commyng beseiged and wan Yvoy, Monmedy and Danvilliers, with Boullon and some vther strang castelles.

Therefore theemperour in the spring tym of the said year 1553, entrit in persone with a gret armye in Picardie, and wan Tirrouan and Hedin, and brunt dyuers litle bovirgis and vilages; quhilk caused the Constable to pass with his army as said is to resist him. The twa armyes being bot feuen leagues findre, the Constable was aduertist beane double spy, that all theemperours horfmen wer to com in the nycht and assaile the French camp. Therefore he till eschew that surpryse marched all nycht fordwart towardis the enemy, with haill forces on horse and

fut; wherby he furpryfed them that thocht to haue found him in his bed, and gaue them the ouerthraw, wher many wer flane and fome tane. Amang the reft the Duc of Afcot leader of that enterpryfe was tane prifoner. Efter this victory, the K. Henry 2. cam to the camp him felf. Then themperour reterit towardis the town of Valencien in Heinot, the Kingis campe folowing alwayes vpon his wyng, making dyuers dayes journey before they cam to the faid Valencien; wher themperour fet down his camp without the town upon ane hiecht, and maid trenfchees and deip fouffies round about the fame. Wher the K. prefented him bataille, and taried ane haill day in vain to fe gif he mycht be provoked to com fourth; and to that effect fend a number of infantis perdues to his trenfchees to bring on the fkirmyfch, wher themperour fend out fome companyes of horfmen, that wer fchone dung bak within ther fort. In the mean tym themperour caufed fchut aff his haill volee of arteillerie at our campt, with litle fkaith. We wer weill anough aduertift that themperour was determinit not to hazard battaill, for he tok oppinion that fortoun fauorit na mair his auld age. Therefore when nycht drew neir, the K. reterit to St Quentin, wher the Conftable fell deadly feak, of the age of lxiiij yeares. Then baith the armyes wer fend to ther winter garniffons; themperour to Bruxelis, the King to Paris, and the Conftable to his palice of Chantillye to recouer his health.

During the winter ther was a gret convention betuen Calis and Arders, wher the Cardinall Pole Englefeh man was appointed mediatour be the Paip to agre thir twa gret princes, bot without any gud effect.

Therefore the K. paff first to the feildis the nyxt fpring with his army, (to wit the year 1554) as themperour had done the year before;

at quhilk tym I was maid his penfioner be the Conftables moyen. His Maieſte befiegit and wan firſt Marianbourgh a trim town, and a gret ſtrenth apperteyning till Frau Mary callit Marymont. He tok alſo hir palice of Baings and brint it, in ſtede of Foulanbrye quhilk ſche had brunt of before. He tok alſo Bovin, and at lenth Dynan; but the caſtell of Dynan fitued vpon ane heich rok was ſtoutly debaited be capten Julien a Spanyart; wha at lenth comyng fourth to ſpeak with the Conſtable of compoſition, wes retenit, and the men of warre cam fourth with bag and baggage.

P. 11. Few or nane of ſouldiours that cam fourth of Dynan bot they wer hurt other with ſkelves of ſtanes be the force of our battery, or wer brunt with the fyre brandis that they did row down the ſtey bra wherupon the wall was biggen; and thryſe they repoulſed our French ſutmen, wherof ther were eleuen baner bearers that paſt vp to the head of the breſche; to wit, firſt ane with the henſenge in his hand, not folowed with his company, was ſchot and fell tombling down the bra; then another ſouldiour, to won the office, tok the enſaigne and paſt vp lykwaies to the head of the wall, was alſo ſchot; then the thrid, and all the eleven ilk ane efter other, wan ther deid and wer in naways aſſiſted with ther companies, notwithstanding that the Conſtable my maifter ſtod beſyd crying and boiſting in vain; and therefore he degradit the captanis and brak ther companies. Ther was a Scottis man brother to Barnbougall, callit Arche Moubrey, wha with his drawen ſwerd ran vp to the wall head and retournit faif; but he gat na reward albeit I was a futer for him, for many ar redier till puniſch faultes then to reward weill doers.

Efter this the K. entrit far in the Law Contrees, burnyng and ca-

rieing away gret butins ; bot fa schone as themperour culd convene any forces together, our armye began to reteir hamewart ; wher themperour send fyve thowfand horfmen to se gif they mycht perfaue any occafion of aduantage, quhilk they effeied to bring till pafs, affailgeing our arreregard at the paffing ouer of a litle watter. At quhilk tym the Conftable taried behind him felf, and turnyng his faice towarde them, and withftod ther charge ftoutly with the Frenche futmen and fome leicht horfmen, vntill the haill armye wer pafte ouer the faid watter not far fra Cambray. Sa themperours horfmen folowed na farther at that tym, trowing that the K. wald retourn in France and fkaill his armye for that year.

Bot the K. drew langis the frontiers toward a gret ftrenth callit Renty, wher he planted his camp and befeigite the faid ftrenth, quhilk I hard the conftable promyfe to delyuer vnto the K. before the end of aucht dayes. Quhilk promyfe was not keped, for themperour cam in perfone with his armye for the releif therof ; quhilk armye the conftable raid out to meit with the haill French horfmen, leaving the futmen to ly ftill at the feige. For he had gret intelligence, and had hard wher themperour wald camp, marching langis a gret heicht that had a ftey foirfaice towardis the part wher our camp lay ; bot it was eafy to ryd vp and down at the fyd wher our horfmen raid, wher themperour send doun fome harguletis on horfback to fkirmyfch. At quhilk tym Normond Lefly maifter of Rothas wan gret reputation. For with a thretty Scotis men he raid vp the bray vpon a faire grey gelding ; he had aboue his corfellet of blak veluet, his cot of armour with tua braid whyt croiffes, theane before and thother behind, with fleues of maille and a red knap-pifk bonet vpon his head, wherby he was kend and fean a far aff be

the Conftable, Duc of Angien and Prince of Conde. Wher with his thretty, he chargit vpon threfcore of ther horfmen with culuerins, not folowed with feuen of his number; wha in our ficht ftraik v of them fra ther horfe with his fpeir, before it brak; then he drew his fwerd and ran in amang them, not caring ther continuell fchutting, to the admiration of the behalders. He flew dyuers of them; at lenth when he faw a company of fpeirmen commyng doun againft him, he gaif his horfe the fpurris, wha caried him to the Conftable and fell doun dead, P. 12. for he had many fchotis; and worthy Normond was alfo fchot in dyuers partis, wherof he died xv dayes efter. He was firft caried to the Kingis awen tent, wher the Duc of Angyen and Prince of Conde tald his Maieftie that Hector of Troy was not mair vailgeant then the faid Normond; whom the K. wald fe drefsit with his awen ferurgiens, and maid gret mean for him; fa did the Conftable and all the reft of the princes. Bot na man maid mair dull nor the lard of Grange, wha cam to the camp the nyxt day efter, fra a quyet raid wher he had bene directed.

Now themperour fet doun his camp tua myles from Renty, and in ane instant trenched the haill camp round about, faif only the fairfaice of the ftey bra that loket towardis our camp, quhilk was ftarker then the reft. All that nycht ther wer many vpon the watche of baith the armyes, for euery man loket for a battaill the day folowing. And therefore themperour, lyk ane auld capten, feafed in the nycht a wood that lay vpon a bra fyd betwen the tua camps, quhilk wes baith a gret aduantage, and then compellit the maift part of our armye till ftand in armes all nycht, to be the mair onable for wanting of fleep and reft again the morn; and then the plaice of the battaill was a plain valley that lay

vnder the said wood. The nyxt morning early, efter that euery man had maid ther prayers and tane a litle meat, we plaicit our armye in gud ordour of battaill vnder the said bra and wood. The K. him self that day commandit the bataille, bot he desyred the Constable to byd with him, for to tak confaill as occasion wald fall out. The Duc of Guise led the vangarde, and Marchall of St Andre the arriergard. First sa many of our Frenche futmen as ar callit *enfants perdus* wer led langis the bra and wod ege, beginning to skermishe with the Spaniartis that wer within the wod; wha had sa gret aduantage being couerit with buffis and trees, that they compellit our futmen to reteir fearfully; quhilk euell fauorit beginnyng themperour mycht weall see from the hill wheron he was encamped. Therefore lyk a skilfull capten he tok the occasion to hazard ane gud part of his avantgard, with a 7. feild pieces, wha be his direction cam fercely forduart; the Spaniartis with ther hacbutis throw the wod, a thowsand Landsknychtis with bricht corfelletis langis the bray fyd with lang pickis, the Conte of Swertzenbourg with all his reiters at the bra fut, and the haill leicht horfmen of themperours army vpon his rycht hand. At quhilk tym our futmen that wer apponted till skirmisch with the Spaniartis reteirit ay mair and mair, as also our leicht horfmen in the valley drew a fyd, and gaue ouer gret place to themperours van gard; quhilk when it cam wher Mons^r de Tavanès and Mons^r de Lorge stode with ther companyes, and saw them mak for deffence, they marched mair caldly. The Duc of Guise in the mean tym said that he wald ryd bak to the bataille, and obtean the Kingis command before he wald charge vpon the ennemy. Bot Mons^r de Lorge wha was ane auld capten, allegit that ther was na tym to speir confaill; "for the ennemy," said he, "wilbe

affchone at the King as ye." Therefore it was resolved to charge courageously vpon the ennemy; quhilk being done and a litle rencontre maid, the reifters fshot aff all ther pistolles, and finding themfelues not backit nor folowed with the rest of themperours army, (as they allegit was promysed vnto them) they gaue bakis and fled; being perfewed
P. 13. be our horfmen, wha flew about a v^c Dutche futmen, and a few Spaniartis, for the wod was their releaf; bot nane of the horfmen, they all eschaiped within the rampartis of themperours camp. Ther feild pieces wer tane and many Spaniartis maid prifoners. Therefore we callit it a won battaill, and marched fordwart, poffeffing the grond wher the feicht was, and fet down our camp that fame nycht hard befyd themperours; wha feamed not that he had loist any thing, bot remanit stedfastly within his trenschees. All that nycht the maist part of the armyes wer vpon the watche, and the nyxt day the tua armyes loked paiceably vpon other; for we wald not hazard to charge them within ther fort, and they stayerd vpon tuelff thowfand fresche men that wer commyng to ther ayd. Bot in the euenyng they fshot aff ther haill volee of canons, quhilk flappit part of our tentis; and we again fshot our haill volee at them, and wald lauch to fe the bouletis leicht and stot amang them. Yet that fame nycht quyetly at midnycht, without trompet or tabouring, we raifed our haill armye and reterit us hame till our awen town of Montreull, and left Renty on won; alleging that we had won ane battaill, quhilk was better, and that we wanted horfmeat in the begynnyng of winter. Bot themperour suffred us patently to pass our way, not feamyng that he knew any thing of our retreit, bot was content that he had faiffed Renty on tane.
Eftir this themperour being agit, and finding himself vexit with the

gut and grauell, thocht meit to leaue the warld, and reteir himself in a monasterie of monkis in Spane. Bot first he maid moyen with the princes of thempyre for to elect his sone Phillip to be Emperour, quhilk they refused altogether, thinking him ouer mychty wherby to subdew ther liberties, as his father had minted to do of before. Bot they wer content to cheise his brother Ferdinand, wha was King of Bohem and Archeduc of Auftria, quhilk dominions lay nereft vnto the Turc. The said Ferdinand having also some landis in Hungarie, wald be compellit to deffend his awin landis, and that way wald be content of less contribution from the estaitis of thempyre, nor any other prince that lay farther aff. Sa Charles the V. left thempyre, and gaue ouer to his sone Phillip his other kingdomes and dominions that he had in Spain, Ytaly, and the Law Contrees. And for the establisshing of his said sonnes estait, he drew on a traity of trewes for the space of v. yeares, quhilk was agreed and sworn betwen the parties. Bot the said trewes wer schone broken, at the persuation of Paip Caraphe; wha intending to bring back again vnto the kirk some kirklandis that his predeceffours had disponit to ther frendis, as the common custom of paipes is; this paip dispones to his bastard bairnes or neueus,—the nyxt paip reuokis the landis as for the weill of the kirk, and geues to his kin and frendis.

P. 14. Bot they that had thir landis that Paip Caraphe clamed, wer a gret clan in Italy callit Collonois; wha wer dependers vpon the K. of Spain, and wer vnder his protection, and wald not grant to geue ouer any of ther possessions vnto the Paip, neyther for his curfing, bofing nor braging, standing to ther defence. Wherof the Paip impatient, pouffit be twa of his neveux, sent the ane of them into France callit the Cardi-

nall Caraph. The said legat had born before him a hat vpon the point of a fwerd, baith hat and fwerd to be presented vnto the K. of France; the fwerd as ane assured warrant of victory, and the hat a taken of tryumphe; Injuning the K. tres Christien, as eldest sone to the Catholik Kirk of Rome, to send ane armye in Italy, to help the Paipes holines to recouer again to the kirk sic landis as wer wrangeously withhelden fra the same be the said raice of the Collonois. And for to tak away all kind of scrupulofite from the Kingis conscience, be raifon of his aith and eaten sacrement at the closing vp of the trewes with the K. of Spane, he the said Cardinall as Legat from Godis vicair had power and wald geue him full absolution, alleging the Paipes power to bind and louse; and mairouer that in doing sa deutifull ane gud office for the kirk, the K. fuld se and get ane gret commodite and aduantage to himself, as to be posselt again in the kingdome of Naples be the forces of the Paip; wha fuld jun with the Kingis armye, efter he had helped the kirk to recouer hir foresaid landis fra them that wer meanteanit be his compeditour the King of Spain. The Duc of Guise and Cardinall of Lorrain his brother embrascit this proposition very earnestly, for the Duc pretendit to be maid vice roy of Napoles, wherby he myght the easelier mak his brother some day paip. Bot the auld Constable my maister was vtterly against the breking of the paice or trewes; bot the twa ambitious brether prevailed, persuading the K. that as the Constables age requyred rest, the K. being in the flour of his yeares fuld not let slip so faire ane occasion to recouer again the kingdome of Naples to the crown of France. Sa ane faire armye was preparit and sent into Italy vnder the condit of the Duc of Guise; and lykwais the kingis lieutenant in Picardie entrit in vpon the K. of Spains dominions

with fyre and fwerd; fa vnloked for be them of the Law Contrees that fome of the Frenche leicht horfmen entrit vpon horfbak within ane of ther kirkis vpon ane Sondag, and reft the chalice out of the preftis handis when he was mumlen his mefs.

The King of Spain tok this breaking of the paice hevely till hart; and baith affifted the Collonnois againft the Paipes forces mair ernestly then he wald haue done, and alfo prepared a gret army againft the nyxt fpring to inuaid the frontiers of Picardie in France.

In the mean tym that the Duc of Guife with his Frenche armye was in Italy, the Paipe tok occafion haiftely till compon with the Collonnois; wha finding themfelues lyk to be ftraited before the K. of Spaines forces mycht be redy to fupport them, gaif the Paipe part of his defyres, he making them fure of the reft.

P. 15. Bott the Duc of Guife thocht him felf gretly difgracit be the Paipes gyll, and far difaponted fra his pretence to the kingdome of Neaples, when he vnderftode that the Paipe was agreed by him; and in fted to concure and help him to conquyre the kingdome of Neaples according to his promyfe, he planly refused, and faid that the winter was at hand, and that it wald be mair feamly that all Chriftien Princes fuld agre amang them felues to mak warre againft the gret Turc. Sa he gaif the Duc of Guife leaue to kifs his fut, wha did it; wherat the King of France was very angry baith at him and at the Paip. Then for the fpaice of tua moneth, euery man in the court of France had leaue to fpeak euell of the Paip; wha agreed at that instant with the K. of Spain, be the mediation of the fame Cardinall Caraphe that brocht the fwerd and hat a litle of before to the K. of France. Quhilk Cardinall was efterwart ftrangled be the nyxt Paip Pius 4. for practifing

to bring the gret Turke in Ytaly againſt the Chriſtiens, quhilk he confeſſit at his dead to haue done for his awen gretnes. This I vnderſtod efterwart, being at Rome.

Now to retourn to the Duc of Guiſe armye abandonit be the Paip; they returnit in France with the loſs of the maiſt part dead for hunger be ſeaknes, and ſlain be the Spaniardis, wha waited on their heles all the way.

Before the Duc of Guiſe hame comyng in France, the K. of Spain was entrit vpon the frontiers of France with a gret armye of 1. thouſand men; whom to reſiſt, the Conſtable my maſter was ſend with a xvj thowſand. The day before he tok his leaue at the K. in Reins in Champaigne, ryding to the huntis, ther cam a man in graue apparell folowing him vpon fut, crying for audience for Godis ſaik. Wherupon the Conſtable ſtayed, willing him to ſpeak; wha ſaid, "The Lord ſais ſeing that thou will not knaw me, I ſall lykwayes not knaw the. Already I ſee the reak of thy glory ſpred athort the luſt in duſt." This ſtrange langage pat the Conſtable in ſic a collair that he ſtraik the pure man in the faice with his horſe wand, and boiſted to cauſe him be hangit. The man anſuerit that he was redy to ſuffer what puniſſement he pleiſit, ſeing he had parfourmed his commiſſion. The Duc of Nevers perſaving the Conſtable commoued, drew neir and deſyred to knaw the cauſe. The Conſtable ſchew him how that ſic a knaiſſ had bene prechen to him of God. Then the ſaid Duc boiſted alſo the pure man; bot as they raid forduart efter the K. I taried behind and aſkit the man what had moued him to uſe ſic ſtrange langage vnto the Conſtable. He ſaid, the ſprit of God ſufferit him not to reſt vntill he had diſchargit his mynd of ſic a commiſſioun.

Now the armye of Spain aboue specified was led be Emanuell Duc of Scavoy langis the frontiers of France, wha at laft planted his camp about the toun of Sant Quentin. Wher the Conftable fend the admyrall of Chattillon his fifter fone to deffend the fame, and logit his camp at La Ferre, v. leigues fra the toun of St^t Quentin, quhilk was not fufficiently fourniffit with men and monition; therfore he effayed the nyxt day, in vain, to put in it ma companies, vnder the condit of Mons^r. Dandelot, brother to the faid admyrall. Again efter the preparation of tua dayes, he marchit forduart with his haill armye toward St^t Quentin, careing with him xviii. canons, with fome bottis with briggis of burdes, that ar commounly in campis, to pafs the army in ane neid ouer reuers and watters. For ther was a litle loche upon the fouth weft fyd of the town, in the quhilk the faid bottis wer fet, and Monfieur de Andelot firft with thre hundreth enterit in the town that way; bot fa fchone as it was perfault, the ennemy stoppit the reft to enter.

P. 16. Bot fa fchone as the Duc of Scavoy was commyng with his haill army towardis us, the Conftable alleging that he had fourniffit St^t Quentin fufficiently, drew hamwartis towardis La Fer in gud ordour, intending to efchew battaill gif he culd, the other being ane ouermatche. His intention was to pafs and beseige Calice, bot the haill horfmen of the ennemyes was hard at us be we had trauelit four myles, wher the Conftable ftayed a whyll. At lenth he faid that ther horfmen cam to ftay us vntill ther futmen wer com forduart; therfore he thocht beft to pafs forduart to a narrow part between a wood and a villaige, ther to abyde them bataille gif na better mycht be. In the mean tyme the Marchell of St^t Andre, a gret doer for the tyme, gaif ane vnhappy confaill, that all the Frenche feruandis that wer vpon horfbak fuld retier from amang

the men of armes, lest they fuld be some impediment to them that facht. Thir varletis, being large as many as ther wer maisters, wer glaid to get them out of the pres, spurring with speid ther horse headis hamewartis, intending to stay vpon some know to behald the combat. The ennemy persaving a far aff a gret number of horsemen as fleing, tok occasion to charge vpon our leicht horsemen; wheron the Constable, being in a valley between twa heichtis, marching towardis the strait part wher he intendit to stay, spurrit fordwart vp the litle bra, that he mycht se how to resist and put ordour to the battaill, quhilk gaif ane hard apprehension till others that it was a fleing; bot when he turnit on the know head to behald the onfet, na man wald tary with him, for na command, nor crying, "tary tary, return return;"—ther headis wer hamewartis, and ther hartis wer hyn. Then his maister staibler brocht him ane Turkey speddy horse, to run away with the rest. He anfuerit in anger that it was against his profession and occupation to flee;—addressing himself fiercely against the gretest troupe of ennemys, saying, "let all gud seruantis to the King folow me;" only he was accompanied with a threscore of gentlemen, wha wer all ouerthrauen in ane instant. The Constable desyrit to be slain, bot his maister staibler callit Mons^r de Salvert cryed continually, "It is the Constable, fley him not;" bot he was schot throw the thye before he was knauen, and was tane prisoner. I being euell hurt with a straik of a mafs vpon the head, was monted again be my seruand vpon a Scotis gelding, that caried me hamethrow the ennemys, wha wer all between me and hame; and twa of them straik at my head with fuerdis, because my head piece was tane aff efter the first rencontre that the mafs had enfenced, and the twa wer standing between us and hame, to kep prisoners in a narrow streit. Bot my skeich horse ran

throw them in a narrow gait, against my will, throw the villaige; for the feild betwen it and the wood was full of reack of culveringis, and ther wer the maist part of our futmen flain. The lowping ouer a dyk sepatrat me fra the twa; then being past the said villaige, ther was boundis anough till eschew; fa I cam saif to La Ferre, wher I met with maister Hary Killygrew, an Englis gentilman my auld frend, wha held my horse till I sat down in ane barbours buith, to be penfit of the hurt in my head. In the mean tym ane proclamation was maid, that na man fuld remain within the town bot the ordinary garriffoun, because the gouernour therof loked for a siege.

being first written, appertains not to this history:—rather to be placit at the end of the book, because hereby may be seen how other young princes have bene as well handled as ours.

7. 17. Even obedience is the office of subjects. For they that are the
effait of a maiestie are a corporation that depend upon God, and they that
shold hear their reverence as in the yere of the year 1500, report
ing unto this end the same purpose. Which shall be the first and
subject them unto the appointed power. As will be seen in the
author.

*Thir ten leaues folowing, being first wreten, apperteins not to
this history:—meter to be placit at the end of the buk, be-
cause heirby may be seane how other yong princes haue bene
als euell handled as ours.*

be them that we, left to be their chief gouernours and chancellours, as
Philip King of Macedonie, Antiochus King of Syria, and Ptolemeus
K. of Egypt; whiche had handling of the said yong prince. I have
translated and true out of the historie of Polybius, because the first was
chanced lastly to this purpose.

Vnto the yung K. Philippe of Macedonie was left Apollonius the chief
gouernour, Megacles to be chancelor, Leonides chiefest captain, and
Alexander to be capten of the garde, and Taurion to be lieutenant in
Peloponense. Appelles, in fied to do the office of one himselfe, used
all the pernicious practises that he could inuent, all manner the yung
princes prosperous proceedings, and till held him in continuall sorrow,
intending till aduance him selfe. For at all his times there shoulde be
any faire occasion, or any good counsel given vnto the King, whereby he

This ten leaves following, being first written, appears not to
this history:—rather to be placed at the end of the book, be-
cause hardly any of them have other young princes have been
as well handled as ours.

P. 17. **G**UD obedience is the office of subiectis; for they shuld esteeme the estate of a maiestrat as a commission com down from God, and therefore shuld bear them reuerence as to the lyknes of the euerlasting, representing onto ther eyn the deuyne empyre. Euery faull, sais St^t Paull, shuld submit them vnto the supperiour powers; for wha resistis vnto ther authorite, resistis against the ordinance of God. Bot how this is obseruit may be ouer oft seene, cheffly during the regne of yong princes.

Polibius wretis of thre yong princes that wer onworthely mishandled, be them that wer left to be ther cheif gouernours and confellers; as Philip King of Macedone, Antiochus King of Siria, and Ptholomeus K. of Egipt; quhilk hard handling of the said yong princes I haue translated and tane out of the historie of Polibius, because the lyk hes chancit laitly in thir partis.

Vnto the yong K. Phillipe of Macedone wes left Appelles for cheif gouernour, Megaleas to be chanceler, Leontius scheild bearer, and Alexander to be capten of the garde, and Taurion to be lieutenant in Peloponese. Appelles, in sted to do the office of ane honest man, vfed all the pernicious practyses that he culd inuent, till hender the yong princes prosperous proceedingis, and till hald him in continuell comber, intending till aduance him self. For at all sic tymes when ther wes any faire occasion, or ony gud confell geuen vnto the King, wherby he

mycht augment his dominions, and wone honour frendſchip or reputation, the ſaid Appelles not only gaue contrary confell, bot had maid the maiſt part of the confeill till his effect. Only Aratus, a worthy capten ouer the Achayens, withſtod him; wha loued the King enterely, and gaue wyſe confell, and ſometymes diſcouerit the falſe practyſes of the confederat confellours, albeit to his awen gret hendrance and parell; for he wes deadly hated and enuyed therfore. Appelles had alredy wone vpon his faction Leontius and Megaleas, and had layed platis how till get Taurion and Alexander out of ther offices; inventing lyes and falſe reportis againſt them, bot maiſt of all againſt Aratus; quhilk was at lenth perfault and cam to the Kingis knowlege, cauſing him to lyk the better of Aratus, and conceaue a ſecret hattrent againſt the other; quhilk the K. durſt not yet kyeth, in reſpect of Appelles gret authorite, bot awaited vpon tym mair opportun.

- P. 18. Now Appelles, finding he cam litleſped be callomnies and lyes, he tok another courſe, and began to ſpeak mekle gud of Taurion, lieutenant for the King in Peloponeſe; ſetting out the ſaid Taurion to be ſa gud a capten, and ſa diſcret and wyſe a confellour, that he was meter then any other to be neir about the Kingis perſone; thinking that way to diſplace him, and put another at his deuotion in that gret gouernement. Efter this, occaſion is offered that the King ſuld invaid his enemys the Etoliens. Appelles folowing fourth his proget, with aſſiſtance of his confederatis, ſpecially Leontius, Megaleas and he, ſweres and promyſes till hald hand till other, in ſtaying be all inderec̄t meanes at ther power, that the Kingis enterpryſe ſhall tak na gud ſucces. Appelles for his part promyſed till paſs before till Chalcedone, wher prouiſion was to be maid for the Kingis armye; and ſuld handle that turn in fic

fort as that ther fuld be want, quhilk he failed not to do; for when the King cam in thir partis, he was compellit to lay in wed his jowelis, and filuer weschell, to get furniffing for his awen; wher also the army wes vtterly mistaiked. Megaleas and Leontius wer ordonit to abyd still about the King, till excuse matters, and till interpret all to the best, and continowally to geue hurtfull conseiles. Leontius left nathing on-done for his part; for the King having another enterpryse till tak the toun of Celene, his fouldiours being redy till surpryse the same, and some of them alredy within the toun, wer drawen bak again craftely be Leontius, wha hendrit the wonnyng therof; and lykwais another fair enterpryse, and the haill sommer seasoun, be the wyles and fraud of Leontius; quhilk the King began to persaue, and all the knauery of thir fyn confellours. After this he maid a sodaine enterpryse vpon the toun of Pharma, Leontius casting in many doutis and occasions of drift, till the ennemys mycht be foirwarnit. Bot the K. knowing ther manyng, past fordwart sodanly, folowing the confell of Aratus, and wan that riche toun; being ay vpon his gardis fra that tym fourth, awaiting vpon ane meit tym till put ordour to sic traitours.

After the wynnyng of this toun, and dyuers vthers wherin the King had gud succes, King Philip maid a gret banquet till all his nobles and captens; wher the traitours schew them selues sorrowfull, because theyr deling was discouert, and wer deuyfen how that efter the banquet they mycht flay Aratus. And as they wer about to put ther enterpryse till execution, in ane quyet nycht efter supper when it was dark, some vthers chancit till com by in the mean tym, and saued Aratus. Wher-upon Megaleas wes tane, but Leontius fled; Crinon wes also tane, ane of ther affociatis. Bot Leontius the nyxt day brocht with him all the

fcheild bearers, whom he commandit as capten, and boiftingly asked
 wha durft retean or lay handis vpon Megaleas and his marrowes.
 P. 19. Quhilk rebellion the King curagioufly repreft, prefenting him felf vnto
 them, and fchewing vnto them that it was done be his commandement.
 Sa Megaleas was accused be Aratus and convict; yet wes efterwart
 fet to libertie for a fowm of filuer, but culd not leaw aff fra his formair
 practyses. For again when the King wes at the feage of a rich toun,
 fome potentatis and nybours delt for paice; quhilk being lyk to take effect,
 Megaleas, Leontius and another callit Ptolomeus, caufed the fcheild
 bearers and dyuers bandis of the men of wair to rebell, and come in
 armes to the Kingis loging; brak vp the dures, and raif the fclaitis af
 the ruf of the houle; compelling the K. till efchaip and faif him felf in
 the nyxt town, till the blud fell fra the rebelis hartis. Then the K.
 fend for the principalis of them; fome he punift, fome he boifted, and
 admoniffit others, knawing weall anough wha wer the fterers vp ther-
 of, bot held him quyet vntill he wes in furety within the toun of Cor-
 rinth. At quhilk time Megaleas, Leontius, Ptolomeus and ther adhe-
 rentis perfaued that ther malice wes manifestit, and them felues in parell,
 they fent for ther chiftain Appelles till com till court and help them.
 Appelles in the mean tym remanit at hame, rewling the kingdome of
 Macedone and Theffalia, caufing all differencis, prefentis, and embaffa-
 dours com before him; taking vpon him entierly the Kingis office, and
 maid bot a chiffer of the yong King. Sa fchone as Appelles cam neir
 the court, all the courteours raid out and met him, and convoyed him
 vnto the Kingis chamber dur. Bot when he preft till enter famylier-
 ly as he wes wont, a paige cam fourth and bad him ftand bak, faying
 that the King wes empefchit. Wherat he was not a litle miscontent,

chiefly when he saw euery man leaue him and steall fra him, as the fassion is in court commonly, when they se the prince lok down vpon any man. Megaleas persauyng Appelles disgraist, and not able till bear out his course, fled to the town of Athens, wher he gat na entre, fearing till offend the King; wha caused incontinent apprehend Leontius capten of the scheild bearers, efter that his fouldiours wer sent away another errand. Bot when they hard that ther capten wes in handis, they send boisting langage vnto the K., quhilk moued the K. the haistelier till cause execut Leontius. Then dyuers tok baldnes till advertis the K. of findry treasons committed against him, and sent vnto him some wretngis that Megaleas had wreten vnto the Kingis ennemys against the King. Bot the K. sent to Thebes and tok him, wha flew him self be the way. Lykwais Appelles, hering that the K. had sent to tak him at Corrinth, whervnto he was fled, he flew him self; and sa did his concubine and his sone. Some others ther depend-ers the K. tok and punissed, and sa endit tragically that company of traitours.

P. 20. This K. Philyp efter that he was red of thir concurring knaues, becam a notable prince, be dear bocht experience, and did many worthy deids. Sa, as Sal fais, put away the wickit and peruers perfones from the faice of the King, and his thron fall be establisfit in iustice.

To schaw the tragicall end also of ane ambitious crafty King tak Cleomenes King of Spart for exemple. For Cleomenes, desyrous bring till pass many hyche pretencis and far fetchis, intendit first till enter-teyn ciuill warres amang the Grecians, that he fiffching in dromely watters, mycht with tim mak him self maister of the haill. He junit

first in factioun with the Etoliens against Peleponese, hopping that way haifty victory ouer them baith; they being subdewed, till assaile Macedone; it being wone, all Grecia wald fall vnder him. Bot Antigonus King of Macedone, father till this Philipe aboue specified, per-fawing the mark he schot at, junit him self again with them of Peloponese, and at length ouerthrew him in fundry battailles; and that the mair easely, because Cleomenes wes haited of his awen subiectis, for falshead, gredines, and ambition, quhilkis ar commonly junit together. Amang vther his faltis, he flew traiterously Archidamus, formair K. of Spart, wha had fled fra the fury of ane vproire, and wes appointed to retourn hame againe to his formair estait. Cleomenes semyng toryd out and meit him, till geue him the mair honorable convoy, flew him be the way; bot spaired some that wer in his company, specially Nycagoras, wha had bene his gretest frend in his aduersite, and had entertained him in his house all the whyll. Cleomenes being thus vincuft, and fled for refuge till Ptholomeus Philopater K. of Egipt; during his being ther, arriuit Nycogoras with a schip full of fair horse, till Alexandria in Egipt; chancing to meit Cleomenes on the schoir, wes glaidly saluted be him, supposing that Nycagoras loued him, for faiffing of his lyf when he flew Archidamus; bot Nycagoras rather haitted him deadly for his treasonable slaughter of his gud frend Archidamus, and wes him self apperantly preseruit to be ane instrument of vengeance for the innocent blud of Archidamus. Now Cleomenes inquyres at Nycagoras wher he wes boun with the faire horse. He said, to sell them to the King Ptholomeus. Cleomenes thinking he micht speak frely to him whais lyf he had saued, said that hures, harpes, and vain pastymes wes meter for sa doild and flugisch a King. The other gaif

him na anfuer, bot fmyled, vntill he mycht mak the King foirfean of Cleomenes bacbyting of him, quhilk he did. Wherupon Cleomenes wes maid captywe, yet eschaiped efterwart. And vnderftanding that the K. of Egipt was miflyked of his fubjects, he did what he culd to fteir them vp till rebellion againft him, and had wone fome, that promysed be wordis; bot when Cleomenes with a few of them invadit the
 P.21. K. vpon the ftreit, and thocht to haue pullit him down from his chariot, crying "liberte, liberte;" bot feing few or nane fa pert till affift him, and that his folly and fury tok na better effect, he flew him felf. And fa endit his vain pretencis, and the flaughter of Archidamus fufficiently auengit.

This Ptholomeus K. of Egipt, efter the death of his father, and flaughter of his brother Magan, thocht that he mycht lyue at hame in lecherie, drinking and ydlenes; and the rather becaufe that his nybour Antyochus K. of Siria wes yet yong, and not able till enterpryfe againft him. Therefore he difpyfed his nobile confellours and captens, fkairfely fuffring any of them till com in his prefens, or till enter in his chamber, making nane bot mean men preuy till his turnes. Alfo anent the gouernours of conculft contrees that lay far aff, he tok na head of them, bot gaue ear vnto the mifreportis maid againft dyuers of the faidis gouernours be ther enuyers. Bot Theodotus gouernour of Celoceria, a gret prouince, and wha had done gret feruice, wes maift enuyed; his honour being hurt, his feruice euell interpret be fic as poffeft the prince ear, his lyf wes in gret danger; fa that the Kingis facilitate and haifty geuyng of credence till fals reportis moued this worthy man till reuolt, and put the haill prouince of Celoceria in the handis of K. Antiochus yet yong. Quhilk wes occafion of gret wairres

afterwart; for K. Ptholomeus at lenth wes compellit, and fa spurrit
fordwart be many treafons, tincelis and rebellions againft him, that he
wes fayn till enter in action efter hurtfull experience, for recouery of
his loft contrees and townis, and to fut the fauour of his nobilitie and
captens, quhilk he fa difdanit and difpyfed of before.

It is na meruell that this Egiptien K., wha wes ane of Alexanders
fucceffours, forget him felf fa; hauyng all thir fair contrees conkuft
vnto him be the faid Alexander, without his labour or induftre; feing
that the faid K. Alexander him felf becam fa facill and infolent, efter
that he had conkeft a gret part of the world. For returnyng hame-
wart from Midia, he cam till Pafergades, a contre of the Perfians,
wherof Orfynes wes lord, wha in nobilite and riches exceidit all vther
men in thir boundis, as ane that brocht his pedegre from Cyrus. The
riches his predeceffours left him wer gret, and he by a lang continuance
in his inheritance had gretly increffit the fame. He met Alexander
commyng to his contree, and prefented baith him and his frendis with
gret giftis of gold, filuer, perles and pretious ftones and pretious stuff,
wefchellis of gold, robbis of purper, four thowfant tallentis of coignit
filuer, a multitud of faire horfe and chariotis wrocht with gold and
filuer; bot gaif nathing till Bagras eunuch, whom Alexander fpecially
fauored. And being inquyred of the caufe, he faid his cuftome was
till honour the Kingis frendis, and not fic vicious men be whais com-
pany the K. was difhonnorit; quhilk wordis being reported again vnto
P. 22. Bagras, he conceaved a gret hattrent againft the noble man, and layed
platis how he mycht get him accused; fubburnyng fome knaues of Or-
fines awen contre to bear fals witnes againft him, and till await vpon
fic meit tymes as he fuld appoint them; for he wes a panderous and a

flatterer; and so with continuance of false tales against the good man, ever dissembling the cause of his hatred, left the prince full persuaded him and he thereby tyn his credit; therefore he wrought so secretly, and at such opportune times, that he first cald the King's heart and affection, and brak his familiarite and access, that the K. myght be the easelier wone and kindlit in an hatred and anger against this honest and innocent man; that at length the K. commandit to sleie him, who bore a singular love and affection to Alexander, and esteemed him large as worthy, notable and valiant as he was.

After the decease of Alexander, his empire and haill conquestes was deuidit among his captives; and after long strife among them, there remanit four principall kingdomes; to wit, Cassander K. of Macedone, Antigonus K. of Asia myneur, Ptholemeus K. of Egypt, and Seleuchus King of Siria. After whose decease, it fell to his eldest sone, callit also Seleuchus, who shortly after died by deceit and foull practises; so the kingdom of Siria fell to Antiochus his brother, yet very yong, and therefore suffered his great men to choose their awen gouvernementis at their pleasure. Acheus was maid gouverneur ouer all the countrees beyond Mount Taurus, Molon of Media, and his brother Alexander of Persida; and Hermeas a malicious man was maid gouverneur of the Indian countrees. All the other above named being little better, this yong King's estate could not be in any good case, as shall appeir afterwart. Only Epigenes cheif capten ouer the haill armye was honest and faithfull to his prence, and in great esteem, because he was a man of word and deed, of long experience, and belov'd of his soldiours. Hermeas again of a contrary nature, crafty false and envious, sought by all possible calumnies till

put this worthy capten and confellour out of the way, that he mycht the better bring his difceatfull practyfes till pas, on refifted orperfaued. All the other gouerours of gret contrees had intelligence with him, euery ane intending till vfurp and appropriat to them felues ther hail prouinces wherof they had commandement; hopping eafily till brangle ther new gret conkiffes during the non aige of this yong K., whais kingdome was not yet weill etabliffit. Firft it was concludit amang them, that Molon and his brother fuld rebell, becaufe they lay fartheft aff; quhilk being perfourmed, the King convenit his confaill, that he mycht tak the redieft way till reduce again the faids contrees onder his obedience, till fuppreffs the rebellion in dew tym. Epigenes being first commandit in confaill to fpeak, gaif his aduyfe that the K. fuld fpedely pas to the partis wher the rebellion was, and fatill the fame before it tok rut in the hartis of the people; wha for ther part had na occafion of hattrent or mifcontentement againft the K., bot wald rather in refpect of his prefens apprehend the traitours, and put them in the Kingis handis to be puniffed. Hermeas impatient at this gud aduyfe, burfted out in a raige againft Epigenes, alleging that he afpyred to get the
P.23. kingdome to himfelf; and now being transported be ambition, difcouerit him felf be this his wicked aduyfe, in confelling the K. yet fa yong and tender, nother weill experienced nor prepared till hazard his perfone in fa far partis, that he mycht bring his trefon the better til pas; and therefore oponit him felf planely therto, willing the K. to remain at hame in the In contrees, and to fend some captens and ane part of the armye till fuppreffs the rebellion; and that the K. him felf fuld ga and refaue the contre of Celoceria, not far af, quhilk was alfo offred vnto him be Theodotus gouernour therof vnder the K. of Egipt, wha was mal-

content with his maister for the tym. For Hermeas thocht that it wald raise vp wairres betwen the King of Egipt and him; that his maister having wairres on all fydis, he mycht not only the better appropriat his gret gouvernement to him and his, bot also eschew punissement for the manyfald offences quhilk he knew him self that he had committed. Then to be quyt of Epigenes, whom he enuyed and fearit, he contrifitted a wretting, as gif Epigenes had wreten the same to Acheus, wha was then also in suspition with the K., willing the said Acheus till aduertis and admonisch Ptholemeus to be vpon his gardis, and till bring samony schippis to ane appointed place, wher Epigenes and Acheus fuld be in a redines till help him at ther power. The yong K., for laik of experience, gaif easy credit to this hurtfull confell, and send captens with some men of wair against Molon, wha wer be him deffait; nether cam the K. any speid with his armye that he convoyed vnto Celofiria, for the hender that Hermeas maid vnto him be his fals practyses. The K. feing the euell succes of baith his enterpryses, wes not content, and conuenit his confell again till aduyse of the nyxt best, and how till proceed against Molon; wha efter he had vincuft the Kingis capten Zenotes with his armye, wan Babillon and all the contrees therabout. At this convention, Ipigenes lamented that his first confell wes not folowed, and said get that albeit the rebelis had gottin sa gret aduantage be wynnyng of dyuers battailles towns and contrees, that it was meit the King fuld pass in persone against Molon with gret deligence; quhilk the haill confell agreed vnto. Nether durst Hermeas speak in the contraire, bot feamed that tym and occasion had caused him chenge his oppinion; and not only gaif aduyse till ga fordwart, bot wes maist earnest and diligent till set fordwart all necessary preparatfis; and in

the mean tyme deuysed how he mycht destroy Epigenes, be craft and indirect meanis. And for this effect, so schone as the army was in a redines, he caused secretly steir vp a mutenery among the men of wair, for want of ther byrun waiges, laying the wyet vpon the generall capten Epigenes; quhilk mutenery put the K. in gret fear. Whervpon Hermeas tok occasion till speak his pleasour of the other, and tald the K. that ther wald be many of the lyk vproirs, except Epigenes wer left at hame; in respect also of the difference betwen him and Epigenes, promysing to quenche all sturys, and cause gud reull be obseruit in so doing. The K., albeit he had Epigenes in gret esteem, and knew his worthynes, and was laith to want his assistance, yet for fear and of facilitate, being importunat and perswadit be some mignons of his chamber, geldit and left him behind.

- P.24. Hermeas hauyng obtenit his intent, caused pay the men of wair largely, to won ther fauour; bot sex thousand of the best souldiours left the K., wanting their gud capten, and wald not serue vnder the charge of Hermeas; wha in the mean tyme, or euer the army past forward, invented a trik, to wit a counterfeit writing, as gif Epigenes had resauit it fra Molon; and buddit a peage that seruit Epigenes, to ley the false letter in his cabinet among his other writings; then caused send a capten callit Alexis with a company, to seek out the writings of Epigenes, and incaice he fand sic a writing sent fra Molon, to slei him; quhilk was done, and contented the K. for the first, as gif he had bene justly slain. This falsehead was persauit be many, bot nane durst yet discover it vnto the K., wha was destitute of gud and trew counsaill; yet ane callit Zeuxides aduysit the prince till pas forward with diligence, quhilk he did at gret journeyes, be difficill and strait passages.

When the armye cam neir wher Molon wes, his haill armye entrit in gret fear, respecking ther kyndly prence, and wer all willing to run away. Bot Molon stayed them with perswasions and faire promyses, mynding till invaid the K. be nyght; fearing to ga oppenly against his K., the foldiours wald abandone him; quhilk dyuers of them did, and aduertist the K. of the tratours intention; wha seing the enterpryse discouert, past oppenly to battaille. The richt wing of his armye facht manfully, bot the left wing turnit and tok part with the King, wha wan the victory; bot Molon fearing just punisshement, flew him self, and sa did all the principall men that had assisted him. Neolauch ane of his brether wha fled, past vnto Alexander his other brother, and perswadit him to fley him self also; then he went and pat to death Molons mother and children, fyn flew him self.

Efter the ouerthrow of Molon and his complices, the K. tok in again his contrees, vsing gret clemency towardis the seducit subiectis; against the mynd of Hermeas, wha layed greter somes of money vpon sic as fuld refaue that kynd of chastisement then the K. had apponted, and vsed also gret crewelte against vthers; quhilk all the K. mittigat sa schone as it cam to his knowlege; for Hermeas meanyng was till mak the K. hatted. About this tym ther cam newes to the K. fra hame, that ther wes a sone born vnto him, for before he had nane. This moued Hermeas instantly till conspyre the Kingis death, thinking thereafter to remain tutour to the barne, and gouernour to all the contrees during his youth.

The K. had a medeciner callit Apolephanes, that loued him entierly, wha amang many others had persaued Hermeas proceedingis, and suspected his mark that he schot at, yet wes in gret fear asweill for him

felf as for the K.; for Hermeas hated all them that loued the K., or
 wald geue him any gud aduyce. This Apolephanes waited vpon a con-
 venient tym, and tald vnto the K. the natour, false practyses and hich
 pretences of Hermeas; admoniffing him to kepe fecret and be vpon his
 gardis, lest it mycht chance vnto him as it had done vnto his brother
 P.25. of before, wha wes flain trateroufly. The K., wha wes alredy in a gret
 geloufyne of Hermeas, and had kepit in his hart a gret mislyking of
 Hermeas proceedingis, tok the aduertiffement of his medeciner in a very
 gud part, and defyred his help to get Hermeas puniffit; becaufe his
 autorite wes fa gret, that nane durft displeife him, nor nane durft put
 hand till him be way of iustice, as having placit his frendis in all the
 offices and gouvernementis, commanding baith the court and camp.
 Therefore the medeciner deuysed that the K. fuld ryfe the nyxt day,
 earlyer in the mornynge then he was wont to do, as till tak the ayre for
 his health; whilk was fchawen vnto Hermeas bot very lait; wha fail-
 ed not to find him ther, to kepe alwais the Kingis ear fra all others.
 Bot ther wer appointed also some yong men to be ther, whom the K.
 had informed of his mynd; fa being a gud way fra the camp, the K.
 drew till a quyet part, as thoch he had bene bown to do his aife; in
 the mean tym the yong men that wer apponted fticked Hermeas, wha
 wes fa hated for his behauour, that na mean wes maid for him; bot
 contrary wyfe, when the brut of his flaughter wes fpred abroid, the
 wyues of the toun of Apamea, wher his wyf remanit, tok hir fourth and
 ftanith hir to death; lykwais the yong boyes of the fame toun ftanit
 his cheldren.

P. 27. LAITLY in England, K. Edward the 6. being left yong be K. Hary the 8. his father, wes a prence of gret esperance. The Duc of Somerset, his mother brother, fell to be his tutour and protectour; a man of gret vertew and godlynes, wha caused feak out all meit perfonages of gud qualitees, till place about the faid yong K. baith in his chamber, at his table, and for his instruction in lettres, and behauour in maners; and trauelit till plant gud and trew men afweill to be confellours, as in all other offices and gouernementis. Bot being perfault be the Duc of Northumberland, wha of a gentilman was fa hyely aduancit, and ane that aspyrit ouer far, all the gud Protectours procedingis wer henderit. For Northumberland being aufull and audatious, was mair redouted, as having cuffit and beaten the Archebischop of Canterbery in prefens of K. Hary the 8., quhilk blow wes neuer puniffit, bot rather excused be the K., when as the faid Archebiffchop maid his complante; the King Hary alleging him to have done it as a man of wair, new com hame fra the wairres of Bolloigne. Quhilk caused many till fear the faid Duc, wha tok greter baldnes vpon him efter the death of K. Hary, ouer soiftly suffred be the gentill nature of Somerset; quhilk gaif him the mair baldnes till enterpryse thothers wrak, of deliberation, he being out of the way, till get the haill gyding of the yong K. and contre. Wherby till bring his purpos till pafs at his plesour, first he failed not be practis till place fundre of his frendis in court and confaill, and in offices; this

being done, to dyuyse the destruction of the Protectour, sterit vp diffention betwen him and his only brother the Admyrall, be the meanis of ther wyves, sa fchone as he perfault emulation enter betwen the twa wyues, for honour and preeminence. The Admyrall had married the lait Quene, a widow and laft wyf to K. Hary the viij; wha in his tym had sex wyues, of the quhilkis tua wer repudiat, tua wer behedit, and the mother of K. Edward dyed, when the barne was cuttid out of hir womb, and this the Admyrallis wyf lyued efter him; alleging becaufe fche was quene, that fche fuld pafs before, and haue the honour abone the Protectours wyff; wha on the other part allegit hir felf to be the wyff to the eldeft brother, Duc of Somerfet, Protectour and Gouvernour for the tym ouer the K. and contre. This vain ftryf was fa helpit and entertenied, be the moyen of Northumberland, that it engendred first gret hattrent betwen the twa ladyes, and efterwart betwen the twa brether ther husbandis, sterit vp be them. Wherupon occasion was tane till won false witneffis till accuse the Admyrall of conspiracy againt the Kingis perfone, the maist part of the juges or fyfers being chosen be the Duc of Northumberland, with easy consent of the Protectour, P. 28. wha femply respected nathing bot the Kingis weill and furete, and perfault not the enuyous pretencis of his hid compeditour. Be thir juges the Admyrall was condemnit to dye. He being out of the way, not lang efter a false allarme wes geuen to the court, or ane bruit of ane enterpryse invented be the Duc of Northumberland, quhilk caufit the Protectour haftely till put on his armour, for deffence of the K. and him felf; for the quhilk he was delated and accused be fic as wer at the deuotion of Northumberland, and condemnit to dy as a traitour to the K. for putteing on his armour in the Kingis palice. The gud

lord faid he was content to dye, gif that mycht stand other the K. or contre in fted for any proffitable exemple. Now he being out of the way, the Duc of Northumberland tryumphed, and reuled all at his plesour, and displacit all them that wer frendis or fauorers till any of the twa brether, oncles to the K., and confequently all that loued the K.; and planted in ther rowmes his frendis and dependers. Then feing nane till gainfay him, nor that mycht refift or withftand his enterpryfe, he married his yongeft fone, callit my L. Gilford, vpon my Lady Jene Gray, dochter gottin be the Duc of Suthfolk vpon K. Hary the viij his yongeft fifter, intending to fet the crown of England vpon hir heid; the yong K. being difpatched out of the way, quhilk he thocht not difficill to do, hauyng all the medeciners, and officers of the Kingis mouth at his deuotion; intending to deffraud Mary our Quene, lawfull heritour of England, difcendit of the faid Harys eldeft fifter. As for the faid K. Harys tua dochters, Quen Mary and Quene Elifabeth, he fupponit them baith to be baftardis; and allege our Quen to be borne out of the contre, and that way allegit to be onlawfull, albeit the contrary hes bene oft praetyfed; to wit findre born in France and other partis, haue bene brocht hame and bruked the krown of England. The mariage being at a point betwen my Lord Gilford and my Lady Jene Gray, the Duc of Northumberland reuler and gyder of the K. and contre, and daly about the K.; wha upon a tym, fchutting at the buttis, the faid Duc flatteringly prayfed the Kingis fchot to be weill neir the mark, albeit it wes far afyd. Quhilk flattery the K. culd not abyde; anfwering backwardly faying, "My L. gif ye had fchot als far fra my twa oncles headis, they had bene yet ftanden vpon ther fchulders." Quhilk word haifted the Kingis dead; for fchortly efter, a lent poifoun

wes geuen vnto him, quhilk tok away his lyf at lenth be degrees. Incontinent efter his death, Northumberland caufes proclame his fonnes wyff Quene, and hir husband my L. Gilford his sonne K., and him felf Gouvernour ouer all the kingdome vnder them. In quhilk eftait they lafted not lang; for as he wes putting ordour ouer all, the Erle of Penbruche, a braue man, callit to a banket dyuers of the nobilite and confaill; and efter the banket, presented onto them a fignatour to fubfcrywe, till tak out Quen Mary wha was kepit, and proclame hir Quene; boifting elfe to fley them ilk ane, bringing in ther prefens a company of men in armour with drawen fwerdis, whom he had in a redines in P. 29. caice of refufall. The nobilite and confaillours ther prefent granted his propofition, and fubfcryuit the fignatour, and promysed all till affift others. Sa Quene Mary wes tane out and proclamit; quhilk commyng to the knowlege of the Duc of Northumberland, he paff to the part wher they wer proclamying the Quene Mary, and he cryed out "God faue the Quen Mary," with the reft, and did caft vp his bonet, for apperant blyethnes, as did [the] reft; alleging that all the confaill had found gud his proceedingis, and fand it meit to fet vp my Lady Jene Gray, in refpect that K. Hary had declaired his twa dochters baftardis; bot he forget that the confaill durft not difobey him. Sa he wes incontinent apprehendit, euen be his auen gard, and convoyed to London. Sa wes the new K. and Quen wardit, and headit. Bot the Duc wes put in hope to get his lyf faif, incaice he wald become ane catholik; for during the tym of K. Edwart, the religion wes refourmed in England, and the Roman Kirk reiectet. Now this Duc wes fa hatted of all, bot cheifly be his ennemys for his tirranny, oppreffion, vsurpation, and the innocent blud fcheding of the Kingis twa oncles, and him felf, that for

vengeance they not only cryed out vpon his trategy, and kufft ftanes and dirt, and fshot at him at his entre in Londoun; bot also knawen him to be without religion, defyred him to heir ane meffe faid vpon the fkaffald, in hope to get that way pardone of the Quene; quhilk when he had done, and hard the faid meffe, halding vp his handis with apperance of gret deuotion to the facrement of the alter, and efterwart culd find na grace, he gaif a gret cry, faying, "O God what have I done," and fa laid done his head, difparatly ending his lyff.

vengeance they not only cryed out upon his cruelty, and kill thence
and him, and shot at him as he came in London; but also knowen
him to be without religion, desired him to be a most faithful upon the
knight, in hope to get that way pardon of the Queen; which when
he had done, and had the kind master, holding up his hands with up-
perance of great reputation to the facement of the altar, and other way
could find no grace, he said a great cry, saying, "O God what have I
done?" and he laid down his head, dying in the 15th.

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P. 30. **K**YNG HARY the 8. of England, father to this K. Edward the 6. abone
specified, being miscontent with Pape [Clement 7.] for refusing to grant
the deuorcement with his wyf Quen Katherene, of the house of Spane;
for reuenge against the said Paip, he loked throw his fingers to the
prechours of the reformed religion, then begun secretly in England be
some that had studied in Dutcheland vnder Martin Luther. Albeit, the
Paip wald fayn haue pleast him, wer not that he fearit to displease
themperour Charles the 5. cusing to the said Quen. With tym the
hattrent increffit sa betwen the K. and the Paip, that the King pro-
claimed him self head of the Kirk of England, and dischargit St Peters
penys to be payed fra that tym fourth, with a strait commandement till
all his subiectis, not till acknowlege the Paip in any fort; and obtenit
the said deuorcement of his wyf be ane Englis Archebischop, and ma-
ried another; wherthrow the Paip, themperour and all thers becam
his ennemys. He again desyrous to won frendis, delt with the King
of France, the K. of Scotland, the K. of Denmark, and the preincis
protestantis in Dutcheland. Bot of all thir, he thocht the frendship
and concurrence of K. James the fyft, his eldest sister sone, mycht stand
hym in gretest steid. For he layed a plat with him self, and wes
determinit to vnit this yle in a religion, and in ane empyre, failzeing
of aires mailes procreat of his awen body; hauing then bot a dochter,
callit Mary, with the deuorcit Quen; quhilk dochter he declairit to be

ane baftarde; and fend in Scotland for his ambaffadour Lord William Houert, with all thir perfuafions and many vther fair offers. Quhilkis the King and haill eftaitis thocht very raifonable and acceptable, and promyfed a meting; quhilk the faid ambaffadour requyred to be at York. Sa the ambaffadour retournit weill content vnto his maifter, wha wes very glaid, and maid gret preparation to refaue honorably his fifter fonne. Bot the clargy of Scotland, efter that they had aduyfed togither, being fworn cleantis to the Paip, thocht neceffary to effey all ther credit, craft, and moyens, how to brek the King from this meting; and addreffit them felues to fic as wer myngnons for the tym, and had his Maieftis ear, to hald hand with fome of the kirk that wer alfo maift famyliers with his Maiefte, to get the faid meting ftayed; vfiing many perfwaifions how K. James the firft was retenit in England; of the auld leig with France; of themperours fead, and the Paipes curfing; and of the horrible herefie that wes laitly ryfen vp, and had infected the maift part of England, afweill as the King hym felf; and alfo how that many noblemen and barrons of Scotland wer fauorers of the faidis herefies, quhilk it wes meit the K. fuld preuene in tym; wherby he mycht alfo augment his rentis be ther lendis, and enriche him felf be ther efcheitis, of fa many whais names they gaif vp in a row of paiper; quhilk the K. pat in his pouche, and thocht it a meit propofition, and profitable to put in execution.

The Lard of Grange wes new maid treforer, and in gret fauour with the K., and wes not yet difcouerit to be a fauorer of the euangell; bot the K. eftemed him trew, and defyrous till aduance his hynes profit, and very fecret; therefore thocht meit to mak hym preuy to this profitable ouertour, and fchaw vnto hym the wreten row, with the noble-

men and barrons names, wha wer geuen vp to be brunt for heresie, and of the gret proffit that mycht behad therby. Wherat the Lard of Grange P.31. began to smyll, and the King till enquire wherat he leuch. The tresorer desyred leaue at his Maieste to tell hym the treuth. With this the King drew out his sward, and said merrely to him, "I fall sley the gif thou speak against my proffit." Then the K. pat vp his sward, and commandit him to schaw him what raisons he culd allege against the prelatis proposition. The tresorer began to delait what troubles his Maieste had been toffit with during his minorite, for the gouernement; first, betwen the Quen his mother and the lordis; then betwen dyuers factions of lordis; couped fra hand till hand, and keped against his will as captyue; sometymes besegit, sometymes brocht till battaill against his will be the Douglassis, to feicht contrair the Erle of Lenox and his best freindis, wha was slain, commyng at his desyre to releaue hym; the prelatis being parteners, for ther ambitioun, sometymes with a faction, sometymes with another; and how that they culd nether agre amang them selues, nor let his Maieste tak rest, vntill the Duc of Albany was chosen Gouernour and brocht out of France. Wha had anough ado also; for he wald haue fayn done plesour to France, and raisit a gret army of Scotismen till enter in England, wha wer making waires in France for the tym. Bot he gat a rebut when he was at the borders of England; for they wald marche na farther, alleging that the K. wes yet yong, and the K. of Englandis sifter sone; and how that K. James the fourt his father, without purpos, past with his army at the plesour of France against his awen gud brother the K. of England, wher he lost his lyf at the feild of Floudoun, and parellit his haill contre; sa this gud Duc was fayn to retier him

till France. “ And efterwart your Maieſte tok the gouvernement in your awen handis, at the age of 13. yeares; git they clapped again about yow, and kepit yow twa yeares as captyue. And now ye ar bot laitlely com to your liberte, and your contre is not yet ſa weill ſattelit as miſter wer; albeit your Maieſte hes done very mekle in ſa ſhort ſpace, as till ſattle the hylandis, ylls, and borders. It wer dangerous that your nobilite ſuld get intelligence, that ſic greedy fetches ſuld be put in your head, vnder pretext of hereſie, to ſpoilge ſa many of them of ther lyues and landis and geir; wherin ye may parell your awen eſtate, at the inſtance of them whais eſtate are in parell, and wald hazard you and yours to ſaif ther awen. The prelatis, I mean, fearis that your Maieſte, at the example of the K. of England, of Denmark, and prencis of thempyre, mak the lyk reformation amang them; therefore they haue

P.32. na will of your familierite with the K. of England, nor that your eſtate ſuld be ſa ſattelit, that ye mycht put ordour to the abuſſis of the kirk. Doted not ane of your predeceſſours, callit S^t Daud, the maiſt part of the patrimony of the crown to the kirk, erecking the ſame in biſchoprickis and rich abeſſies? wherby your Maieſte is preſently ſa pure, and the prelatis ſa riche, ſa prodigall, and ſa prowde, that they will ſuffer nathing to be done by them; and ar alſo ſa ſworn to the Paip of Rome, when they get their benifices confirmed, that they aucht not to be credited in any thing that may tueche the Paipes proffit or preferment. As the Venitiens, being the wyfeſt commoun weill, will not ſuffer any prelat, albeit he be a born man of the town, to abyde or ſtand in ther conſaill houſe, when they ar at ther conſaill; becauſe they knaw them to be ſa ſtraitly ſworn to the Paip.” Then he declairit ſome of the groſſeſt abuſſis of the Romain kirk, and the vngodly lyues of the

Scotis prelatis, quhilk the King and haill contre nicht fe. "Therfor," said he, "gene your Maieſte wald do weill and be riche, ye may juſtly tak hame again to the proffit of the crown, all vacand benifices, be litle and litle, as they may fall be diſceſs of euery prelat." Anent his Maieſteis promys maid to the ambaffador of England, ther mycht com gret trouble and waires, gif it wer not keped. For K. Hary 8. was a curagious and hych conceated prince, and apperit to haue ane vprycht meanyng for the tym; and occaſions preffit hym therto, having ſa gret turnes in hand, and ſa many gret ennemys; without ſucceſſion, ſaving the foirſaid dochter; corpulant and fat, that ther was ſmall hope of vther aires; the K. being his eldeſt ſiſter ſone, nereſt of bluid and ableſt to mantean and vnit the haill yle of Bretane. And as to the reteanyng of K. James the firſt, he wes not in the lyk caice, nor had not the lyk meit tym; he was not the K. of Englandis ſiſter ſone, nor his apperant ayre. And what hard ſucces had the King his father, for making wair againſt the K. of England his gud brother, was ouer manifeſtly felt be the haill ſubiectis; and litle better to be loked for, incaice of a new vnneceſſary wair be maid, for your Maieſte way byding fra the ſaid meting at York.

The K. tok ſic delyt in this langage, that he determint to folow fourth the effect therof; and at the firſt meting with the prelatis, wha had then very gret reull in the contre, he culd not contean hym any langer, when they cam, trowing to ſe ther platis put in excuſion. Efter many ſour reproffis, for that they wald cauſe hym uſe ſic creueltye vpon ſa many noble men and barrons, to the parell of his awen eſtat, he ſaid, "wherfore gaif my predeceſſoris ſa many landis and rentis to the kirk? Was it to mentean halkis, doggis, and hures,

to a number of ydle preftis? The K. of England burnis, the K. of Denmark beheadis you; bot I fall ftik you with this fame quhinger." And therwith he drew out his dager vpon them, and they fled in gret fear from his prefens. Then again the King tok deliberation to fulfill his promyfe of meting with his oncle the King of England, and thocht it baith his honnour and greteft aduancement fa to do.

P.33. The prelatis of Scotland thinking them felues far ouerfchot, and thereby in a very hard eftait, confulted togither how to bring the K. again vpon their oppinion; and thocht meteft way was, till mak ane offer vnto the King, to pay hym yearly of the rentis of the kirk, fyfty thousand crownis, to mentean fied wageours, by the ordinary fubiectis that obey the proclamation, in caice the K. of England wald mak warres againft Scotland for the Kingis abyding from the meting at York. And they thocht that, howbeit this gold wald be a gret alurement to the King, wha lyked weill to be riche, yet without the matter wer proponit and fauorably interpret to his Maiefte be fic as had his ear; they beftowed largely of ther geir vnto his maift famylier faruandis, and promyfed farther vnto Olypher Singklair, that they fuld caufe hym be aduancit to gret honnoures, and to be maid maifter of the camp or lieutenant of the haill armye againft England, incaice that K. Hary wald intend any warres againft the King; quhilk they affirmed he wald not, nor durft not for the tyme, having fa many yrnies in the fyre alredy. Sa this purpos being ernestly put in head, and als ernestly apprehendit be the myngnonsin court, wha be flattery wan greteft fauour; and cheifly be drawing of fair maidnes vnto the K., and ftryving to be the first aduertifers whais dochter fche was, and how fche mycht be obtynit, and lykwais of mens wyues; they awaited for a convenient tyme,

when the tresorer fuld be absent; wha was a stout bald man, therfor they durst not speak in his presens; for he alwayes offerit the singlar comabat, and be the point of the sword to mentean any thing that he spak. Now he wes absent from court; for the K. had geuen the ward and mariage of Kelly in Angus to his second sone, and he wes past ther to tak possession therof. In his absens then, this new deuyse wes delaited vnto the K. be Olypher Sinklair; and sa eloquently fet out be sic of the clairgy as had bene in best acquentence with his Maieste, that hegaif gud eartherto; adding sa many vther perswasions vnto them that they had maid of before, and at sic meit tymes, when they brocht vnto hym fair maidnes and mens wyues, that he wes won again to ther oppinion. Then they tok occasion to schaw his Maieste, that the lard of Grange his tresorer was also becom ane heretik, and that he had alwayes a New Testament in Englis in his poutche; and lykwayes that he was becom sa proud and myskennen, puft vp be his Maiesteis fauour, that na man mycht byd him; and then that he was sa extrem gredy, that he wes vnmeit for the office of tresorer, and ouer bald to haue procured for his second sone the riche ward and mariage of Kelly, worth xx thousand pond, as they allegit. The King answerit to that, how he estymed him to be a plane frank gentilman, and that he loued him sa, that he wald geue hym again the said ward and mariage for a word of his mouth. The pryour of Pittinwem replied and said "Sir, the ayre of Kelly is a lusty fair las, and I durst plege my lyf that gene your Maieste wald send for hir presently, that he fall refuse to send her vnto you."

P.34. The King affirmyng still the contrary, ther was a myffye wreten; and the prelatis and ther factioners devysed that the said pryour of Pittinweme fuld cary the wreteng, and bring ouer the maiden ayre of Kelly

to the King. Bot the treforer, wha knew him to be his deadly enemy, refused platly; alleging the said pryour to haue bene all his dayes a vill hurmester, and had in his tym defowled dyuers maidnes; therefore he thocht hym ane vnmeit messenger. Wha was sa glaid as he to return with this bakward answer; and tuk his affociatis with him vnto the K., whom they kendlit vp in ane gret colair against the treforer; and handled the matter sa fynly and haitly, that they obtenit a warrant, and to charge the treforer till ward within the Castell of Edenbrough; quhilk they forget not to do at his first commyng to court. He again gefsit that leasngis wald be maid against him, and therefore vfed gret deligence to beat the K.; and notwithstanding of ther charge, past pertly to his Maieste, wha was at his supper in Edenbrough. Bot the King looked down vpon hym, and wald not speak nor ken hym. He steppit fordwart, and said, "Sir, what offence haue I committed? I had as mekle of your fauour when I parted with your hynes liscence, as any vther." The K. said, "Why refused thou to send me the maiden that I wret for, and gaif proud dispytfull langage to hym that I send." "Sir," said he, "pleise your grace, he is not about you that dar debait that leasng. As for the maiden, I said to the pryour of Pettinwem, that I was euell anoughe to be the messenger my self, and to convoy hir vnto his Maieste; bot thocht him vnmeit, wha wes a manifest forcer of wemen, and the gretest defouler of wyues and maidnes that was in Scotland." The K. said, "Then hes thou brocht the gentilwoman with thee?" "Yes, fir," said he. Then said the K. "Alace, they haue set out sa many leasngis against the, that they haue obtenit of me a warrant to put thee in ward; bot I fall mend it with a contrary command." Then said the treforer, lamentingly, "It is a small matter of

my lyf or warding; bot alace, fir, it brekis my hart that the world fuld heir of your facillite";—quhilk the K. layed vpon ther importunate. Bot the treforer was mair fory that, in his abfens, they had caufed the King to fend in England, and difcharge the meting betwen him and the K. of England; wha tok fic anger and difplefour that he was fa fcorrit, that he fent ane armye in Scotland to diftroy with fyre and fwerd. Albeit the K. lyked nathing of this wair, he was ftill halden in hope that it fuld tend to his gret honour and weall; and that England had famekle a do, that they wald fchone repent them, and be compellit to fut for peace or treues or it wer lang. In the mean tym theyr gold was maid redy, till encorage the K., and promyfes of mekle mair incaice the war continowed.

P. 35. The King culd not bot raife ane army to defend his contre and fubiectis, wha pait to that wair, to fchaw ther obedience, againft ther hartis. Bot when they parfauit Olypher Sincklair raifed vp vpon mens fchoulders, and proclaimed lieutenant ouer the haill armye, befyd the Solan mofs, the lord Maxuell for difpyt, wha thocht to haue had that charge, and the reft of the lordis wha mislyked that the court and contre fuld be gouernit be fic mean men, wald not feicht vnder fca lieutenant, bot fuffered them felues all to be tane prifoners. Sa the haill armye being ouerthrawn, pat the K. in a gret difplefour, and gaif occafion to fic as wer fauorers of the twa Kingis meting, to fpeak ther plefour againft the prelatis procedingis. The K. alfo burfted out with fome langage againft them, quhilk cam ouer fchone to ther eares; for the K. lyued not lang efter, and dyed in Facland, for difpleafour, as fome allegit; vthers held oppinion again, that he wes poifonit be fic of the prelatis that had brocht him in that trouble of mynd, be ther prac-

tyfes and perfwafions, and had lernit that art in Italy callit ane Italien poſſat.

The Cardinall Daud Betoun was befyd his Maieſte in the mean tym, and cauſed wret a maner of ane teſtament, at his awen pleſour and dyting, as was allegit; and therfore it was annullit and brocht bak again efterwart. Bot the K. of England culd not forget the injury and diſpleaſour for the Kingis promyſe breking, and for his death. For the angry waires that he had maid, wes rather to moue the K. and eſtatis of Scotland, to juge whither his frendſchip or fead had bene meteſt; and wes ſtill in hope with tym to haue won the K. again, with the conſent of the beſt part of his ſubiectis, to jun in band and alliance offenſywe and deffenſywe with him and his contre. For he vnderſtod of the Kingis worthy qualitis, and had a maruelous gret loue and lyk- ing of hym; and thoct he culd not leaue the kingdome in a better hand then to his awen ſiſter ſonne, ſibbeſt of bluid vnto hym, and meat- eſt of any vther to build up a fair monarchie, to be begun firſt in a maner in his awen perfoun; in reſpect that for his tym, (quhilk he loked wald be ſchort,) his ſiſter ſone wald be bot his coadjutour and leutenant, and efter him bruik the hailwair, vnder a religion, a law, and a leid; and thoct therby that France ſuld neuer get plaice again, to ſteir vp the ane contre againſt the vther; nor that the Paip ſuld never get any entre, to tak vp ſic ſowmes of filuer from his ſubiectis for confirmations of benefices, nor for his bullis and diſpenſations; and alſo to want S^t Peters peny, and his allegit ſuperiorite of England for euer. For his wrath and vengeance againſt the Paip was excyding gret; for he had maid him many promyſes, and had broken them all; fering as ſaid is till offend themperour, wha wes ſa gret and mychty a prince. Therefore

the K. of England, feing he had loft the eſperance [of] the Scotis aly-
 ance and concurrence, compellit the gentilmen of England to eſcambion
 ther landis, with the landis of abbayes cloſters and other temporell
 P.36. kirk landis; and gaif them mair nor ther awen to kepe, that the ſaid
 landis fuld neuer retourn again to the kirk, without a maniſeſt rebel-
 lion, or a dangerous ſubuertion of the haill eſtait of the contre. And
 to be revengit vpon the ſaid Cardinall David Betoun, (whom he thoct
 had diſapointed him of all the hope he had of Scotland,) he delt with
 Sir George Douglaus and the Erle of Angus, wha wer bot laity re-
 tournit out of England, wher they abaid baniffit vnto the death of K.
 James the fyft. Thir twa brether, appering to be of the reſourmed re-
 ligion, perſuaded Normond Leſly meſter of Rothies, the yong lard of
 Grange, and Jhon Leſly of Parkhill, wha had been perfecuted be the
 ſaid Cardinall for religion, eſter that he had tane ther prechour, Meſ-
 ter George Wiſchart, and burnt him at St Androues;—thir I ſay wer
 eaſely ſterit vp to fley hym, whom they wer perſuadit to be ennemy
 to the trew religion, to the weall of the contre and thers in particulair.
 This proud Cardinall was ſlain then in his awen caſtell of St Androues;
 and ſa endit, with all his praetyſes, and obtenit nathing bot vain trauell
 for his pretencis and ſodan death; with the death of a worthy K., wha
 wes inclinit to juſtice, and gaif na credit to his officers in thir twa ſpe-
 ciall pointis, to reward and puniſe. For wha euer did hym gud ſeruice,
 he wald ſe them rewardit, yea albeit they chancit to be abſent; and
 anent puniſment of euell doers, ſa ſchone as he hard the complaint, he
 lap vpon his horſe and raid to the part him ſelf, with a few company,
 or they culd be war of him, and wald ſe ſcharp execucion; ſa that he
 wes baith loued and feared. He wes very curagious, weill fauored and

fchepen, fomthing out cuted, of a midle flatour, very able and clean
 pithed; bot euell company fell about him, entring out of adoleffence
 in furious youth, and entyfed him till harlettrie; ftryving wha fuld spy
 out the faireft maidnes, and lykwyfe at lenth of mens wyues; with the
 quhilkis he abufed his body, to the offence of God and dyvers gud sub-
 iectis, and wes not left vnpuniffed; for he had bot twa yong fonnes,
 and they died baith within xlvijj houres; fa that at his difcefe, he had
 bot a only dochter, callit Mary, new born when he was upon his dead
 bed; at quhilk tym he was bot of the age of [thirty-one.]

P.37. **K**YNG JAMES the 5., as said is, leaving behind him Marie his only dochter for our Quene, as K. Hary the 8. of England left a only sone callit Edward the sext; the kingis and estaitis of baith the contrees, defyring still this haill yll of Bretain to be vnited in a monarchie, maid a contract of mariage betwen the yong K. and Quen. Quhilk being efterwart broken vpon our part, and hir Maieste transported till France be the west fees, ther fell out a creuell wair betwen the twa contrees for that cause, quhilk with tym was tane vp, and agreed that K. Edward fuld mary Elyfabeth, eldest dochter till Hendry 2. King of France, and Francois his sone to mary our Quen. My L. Hammiltoun being aduancit to the gouvernement of the contre, be the lard of Grange treforer, Mester Hendre Belnaves, and vthers that wer of the refourm-ed religion, when as he apperit to be a trew gospeller, was schone efter-wart alterit be the abbot of Pafeley his bastard brother, and becam a gret perfecutour of Godis word; and was as easely drawen to brek the said contract of mariage maid betwen K. Edward and our yong Quen, be the perswasions of the said abbot and the Cardinall. And efter that the Cardinall wes slain, he gydit all his allane, and was maid Arche-bisshop of Sanctandrowes; and also in gret fauour with the Quen Dowager for a tym, vntill efterwart that he becam hir ennemy, and contrary till all hir pretencis and procedingis, as falbe schawin efterwart when the matters commes in hand. For efter that the yong Quen was in France, ther wes gret disputing baith in France and also in Scotland,

whether the mariage with the Delphin of France fuld tak effec or not; for euen then ther wer twa factiōns in the Frenche court. First the brether of the hōuse of Guise, as the Duc of Guise and Cardinall of Lorraine, brether to our Quen Dowagier, and oncles to our yong Quen Mary, preffit earnestly to set fordwart the said mariage with France. The auld Constable Duc of Montmorancy was of oppinion, that it was meitest to mary hir vpon some duc or prence of France, and to send them baith hame to abyd in Scotland, and to hald ther awen contre in gud obedience. Because when prencis ar absent, and far af fra ther awen, rewling ther contrees be lieutenantis, maist commonly the subiectis of sic contrees vses to rebell; quhilk gene the subiectis in Scotland did, it wald be hard and coistly to get them reducit; and therby, in sted to mak France the better of the mariage with the Delphin, it mycht mak it to be in a far war caice. The hōuse of Guise, again, desyring to haue ther sifter dochter Quen of France, till augment ther reputation and credit, prevalit; alleging how it wald be baith honorable and proffit-able to the crown of France, and that ther wald be reuenus anough to mantean garniffons within the contree, to hald the subiectis vnder obedience; bigging ma citadelis, and hauyng the haill strenthes in ther handis.

In Scotland also, the Quen Regent was of the same oppinion with hir brether, and beleued to haue the haill prelatis vpon hir syd; wha had
 P.38. gret reull and autorite for the tym, and had assisted hir to the breking of the contract of mariage with England, and transporting of the yong Quen to France. Bot now the Archebischop of S^t Androwes began to think, that incaice the yong Quen died without succeffion of hir body, that the Erle of Arran his neveu mycht the eyselyer be crownit, (the

Gouverneur his father being already in possession,) was against the transporting of the crown matrimoniall till France; and having for the tyme the haill gyding baith of the Gouverneur his brother and of the contre, drew easely the maist part of the prelatis vpon his oppinion. Wherthrow the Quen Dowagier wes compellit to address hir to a contrary faction, to wit, the maist part of the nobilite and bourrowes, wha wer becom professours of the reformed religion. Wynnyng twa of the estaitis vpon hir fyd, sche obtenit hir intent; quhilk maid hir eftirwart to schaw greter fauour vnto them of the reformed religion, ouerfeing ther secreet prechingis; wherby the religion increffit, sa that the maist part of the contre becam professours or protestantis, and sic as wer banissit for religion and for the Cardinalis flachter, brocht hame to fortifie the faction that fauorit maist the weall of hir Maiesteis affaires. In the mean tyme the bischop of Sanctandrowes fell seak, sa that he lost his speach and was geuen ouer for dead; at what tyme the Quen Dowagier tok occasion to get the gouvernement out of the L. Hammiltons handis, be the help of the faidis lordis protestantis and ther dependers. Bot eftirwart the bischop recouerit his speatch, be the strange industrie of Cardanus, as wes allegit; wha when he hard that his brother my L. Hammiltoun had geuen ouer the gouvernement to the Quen, he was in a gret rage, and maid a gret exclamation, saying, "Fy on him beast, ther is bot a kitteren las between hym and the crown." Alwayes, be sic meanis, the Quen Dowagier becam Quen Regent.

The mariage of hir dochter Quen Mary being perfourmed with Francis Delphin of France, a litle before wynnyng of Calice be the Duc of Guise, now com hame out of Italy, wher he had bene with a faire army to help Pape Caraph; wha had caused the K. of France brek the trewes with the

K. of Spaine, for his particulier; and not only caused the said K. brek the paice, together with his solemne oath at the eating of the sacrement between the commiffioners of the twa Kingis, bot also the Pape brak his promys maid to the K. and Duc of Guise, efter his turn was seruit be the said armye sent in Italy; quhilk falbe mair particlairly declairit in another place. Be the breking of the said paice, the K. of France tint the battaill of Sinkantin, and the battaill of Grevelins, with the toun of St Quentin, Han, and Cattlelet. Wherby the K. of Francis estait wes fa hard, that he wes compellit to tak ane hurtfull paice, at Catteau Cambrify; wher I wes for the tym with my maister the Constable, yet captue, as he wes tane prifoner at the said battall of St Quentin.

P.39. With the said Constable wer adjunit in commiffion the Cardinalis of Lorrain, Chatillon, Marchall of St Andre, Bifchop of Orleans, and the secretaire Aubepin. For the K. of Spain wer the Duc of Alb, Prince of Orange, Sir Rygomes Espanioll, and Cardinall Granvell. For Quen Mary of England wer commiffioners, my L. Willyem Hauert, the Bifchop of Ely, and Doctour Wittoun. Thir commiffioners maid paice between France, Spain, England and Scotland. Not without cause mak I mention of this paice, quhilk the Constable was ernest to bring to pass, and the Cardinall of Lorrain defyrit warres; for by the paice, the Constable wald get liberte to com hame out of prifoun, to gyd the K. and court of France as he was wont to do; by the warres, he wald remain prifoner, leaving the gouvernement of the K. and court of France to the Cardinall, and Duc of Guise his brother. Spain, that wer victorious, tok aduantage of ther stryf and emulation; and France and England lost be the said paice; the King inclyning maist to the Constables confell. England again defyring that Calice fuld be restored

vnto them, and beleuit that the K. of Spain wald not agre, without they wer fatiffeid in ther demandes, wer frustrat of ther expectation. At lenth feing the tua gret Kingis cairles of ther contentement, they seamed to be content (albeit they wer not) with a scornfull midis that was casten in be the Cardinall of Lorrain; to wit, that Calice fuld be renderit vnto them at the end of aucht year, or else fywe hundreth thowfand crowns; and for payment of the said fowm, incaice the said town was not renderit vnto them at the end of the tym specified, that in the mean tym they fuld haue thre gret men of France to kep, as pleges for the said fowm. Now the Englis commiffioners knew that nathing of this wald be kepit to them, seamed to be satisfied neuertheles, feing them left and abandonit be the commiffioners of Spain.

Sa the paice being concludit, Spain obtenit all ther desyres; the Constable obtenit liberte; the Cardinall of Lorrain culd not mend him self, na mair nor the commiffioners of England. This aduantage the said Cardinall tok at that tym, to cause the first article of the paice be, that all Chrifitian and Catholyk princes aucht to leaue ther percialities, and jun together till fuppreffs the gret multitud of heretikis, that wer fa increffit throw ther diuifion, that it wald be hard anough to the Paip, themperour, the Kingis of Spain and France, together with the Quen of Scotland, to reduce them again to the Catholyk faith. Another aduantage the said Cardinall thocht to recompense his lossis with wes, that at the end of the aucht yeares, when England wald lok other to get Calice restored again to them, or elis the fowmes of gold abone specified, he intendit to cause proclam the Quen of Scotland his sifter dochter, rychtuous Quen of England, and allege this Quen Elyfabethe to bebot a bastard; and be that way, not only Calice bot all England fuld partean to the

Quen of Scotland. As for the plegis, sic men to be chosen out that
P.40. France wald mak litle accompt of ther tincell; as Mons^r de Candall,
Mons^r de Palefau, and the Erle of Nantullet prouest of Paris.

Efter the making of this paice, ambaffadours were sent till Flanders and
England; the Cardinall of Lorrain out of France to fwer and tak the
King of Spanes aith, and to fwer for the K. of France obseruation therof;
the Secretair Dardois wes also send out of France, to do the lyk in the
name of the Delphin of France, and Quen of Scotland his spoufe; ge-
ving them this new ftyll, "In the name of Francis and Mary King and
Quen of Scotland, England, and Yreland, Delphin and Delphinnes of
Viennois." Wherat the Duc of Alb and Cardinall Granuell fmyled, and
faid, this will bred some new bufynes or it be lang. The Cardinall of
Lorrain fchortly efter caused renew all the Quen of Scotlandis filuer
veffell, and pat theron the armories of England. The Marchall of
Montmorancy, the Conftables eldest fone, was sent in England to fwer
the paice, and to tak the Quen of Englandis aith; bot fa fchone as thir
new ftylles and armories wer knawen to Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun,
then ambaffadour for the Quen of England in France, he complenit to
the K. and confaill, and gat bot Dutche excufes; alleging that, in
Dutcheland, all the prencis brether, cufins or bairnes, ar ftyllit prencis
or duckis of that fame houfe.

To fwer the paice in Scotland, the Conftable wald haue the K. to fend
me; bot the Cardinall of Lorrain allegit, Mons^r de Buttoncourt mester
houfhald to the Quen Regent meter; becaufe the instructions tendit to
declair vnto the Quen Regent, how that the first and principall article
of the paice wes, that the Paip, themperour, the Kinges of Spain and
France, fuld band togither to reduce again the maift part of Europe to

the Romain Catholik religion, and till perfew and punifs with fyre and fwerd all heretikis that wald not willingly condiscend to the fame; willing the Quen Regent to do the lyk in Scotland, and to begin in tym, before the heresies fuld fpred any farther; quhilk, be her gentill bearing, had already tane ouer gret place, as was reported to the K. of France; preing hir diligently to put ordour therto, without any fear or refpect of perfones; feing that na contre it allain was able to withftand the haill forces of fa many confederat gret Catholik prencis. Wherat the Quen Regent apperit to be fory, becaufe that they wer hir beft frendis for the tym, that wer noted to be profeffours of the reformed religion; and be the deligent prechingis of the minifters, wer growen to fic a gret nomber, that it wald be a dangerous and difficill matter to get them compellit.

Bot the inftructions of Buttoncourt, afweill to Mons^r. Doseill lieutenant in Scotland for the K. of France, fa also to fic vthers as had greteft credit about hir Maieftie, wer fa ernest and fa ftrait, with fome boift, that fche determinit to fet fordwart a ftrait commandement, a litle before Paice, (Eafter,) that euery man gret or fmall fuld obferue the Catholik Romane religion, to pafs daly to the mefs; and then at Paice to mak ther confeffion in the ear of a preft, and refaue the facrement. And be mouth, to fa many of the nobilite and vthers that hir Maieftie wes acquainted with, fche admoniffit them, and fchew them the commiffion that wes fent to hir out of France; and the danger, incaice it wer not obeyed.

P.41. Quhilk when the nobilite and the eftaits of the contre perfaut to be ernest, and wer also boifted be Mons^r. Doseill, they left the court, and confulted togither what was meteft for them to do; then fend vnto hir Maieftie my Lordis of Argyll and Lord James Pryour of S^t Androwes to fchaw hir Maieftie, in name and behalf of the reft, how that they wer

parmitted be hir Maieſte to haue ther awen miniſters of ſic a lang continuance, ſometymes ſecretly and ſometymes openly; that the trew religion had tane ſic rut into them be hir tollerance, and that the number of trew profeſſours wer ſa gret and increaſt, that they wald rather geue ther lyues than to rekant; and eſtemed ther vocation lawfull, becauſe ſche gaif ſic power to them that wer noblemen, ſcherefis and maieſtratis vnder hir.

This langage ſche thocht as ſtrange, as they thocht hir proclamation; ſa that ſche began to perſecut, and they to rebell, and tak the feildis, and band them ſelues together, vnder the name of the Congregation; and thereafter brak down ymages, kirkis and cloſters. And the Quen Regent ſend to France, and aduertified of that diſordour quhilk wes fallen fourth, requyring mair help and forces, or elis all wald be loſt; and ſche feared that my L. James pryour of S^t Androus, ſone naturell to K. James the 5., wald vnder pretext of this new religion, vſurp the crown of Scotland, and pluk it clean away from the Quen hir dochter, without ſodain remedy wer put therto. Wherupon the Conſtable of France tok occaſion to moue the K., whais penſioner I was for the tym, to ſend me in Scotland. Firſt the K. gaue me his commiſſion be mouth; and then the Conſtable, his cheif conſeillour, directed me at lenth in his Maieſteis preſens as folowes.

“Your natyue Quen,” ſaid he, “is married heir in France vpon the King Delphin; and the King is informed be the Cardinall of Lorrain, that ane baſtard ſone to K. James 5. callit Priour de S^t Andre, pretendis vnder coulour of religion till vſurp the kingdome vnto him ſelf. His Maieſte knowes that I was euer againſt the ſaid mariage heir; fearing therby to mak our auld frendis our new ennemys, as is lyk till com till paſs this day; bot I gaue ouer gret place to the houſe of Guiſe, to deall in the

affaires of Scotland, because the Quen Regent is ther sifter. Now feing ther violent proceadingis fa lyk to cause the kingdome of Scotland belost from the lawfull Quen, I mon nedis medle and put to my helping hand, as having better experience of the nature of that nation nor apperantly they haue. I assure yow, that the K. is myndit to wair and hazard his crown, and all that he has, rather or your Quen want hir rycht, now feing that sche is married vpon his sone; and purpofis to raife and fend ane armye in Scotland for that effect. Quhilk he wald fayn eschew, gif it wer possible; for now, efter that his Maieste hes had wairres lang anough with his auld ennemys, and agreed with them for gud respectis, he is laith till enter again in a new vnnecessary wair with his auld frendis, quhilk parchance is brocht on be euell handling, and not in ther deffalt. I heir that Mons^r Doseill is collerick, and ouer angry and impatient folkis ar not meit to reull ouer far and frembd contrees. I haue also intelligence, that the Quen Regent has not kepit all thingis promysed vnto them. The K. my maister is not sa rasche

P. 42. as to geue haifty credence, that Scotland, wha haue keped sa lang frendship with France, will now sa leichtly brek the auld band, nor abandon deute to ther lawfull prince. Again, what inconvenientis may aryse vpon sic far and ouersee warres; the King is not yngnorant, what gret charges it is till fournisch out schippis, quhilkis parchance may be thryse vitallit before they mak faill, be raifoun of contrary windis; and then, the accustomed stormes of your fees ar very parelous. Was not the Markys de Albeuf, with his schippis, dryuen vpon the coast of Norroway, when he thocht to haue landit in Scotland, sa that his voyage did na gud bot expensis? Tak that our army wer weill landit in Scotland, how oft may they haue neid of suppart, when we, be rai-

foun of thir and findry vther lyk difficulteis, will not be able to help them, as we haue our gud experience, when Mons^r de Lorge was there?

“ I haue brocht you vp from a chyld; I understand that ye ar com of a gud house; I haue assured the King what gud proif I haue of your honestie; sa that his Maieste is weill myndit towardis yow; at whais hand I hope ye fall deferue at this tym a gud reward. This is a nother maner of commiffion, and of greter importance than it that Bottoun-court caried; for the K. will stay or send his armye according to your trew report. Seam only to be ther for to vesit your frendis; bot let nether the Quen Regent, nor Doseill knaw of your commiffion, quhairin ye ar employed be the K., wha is now your best maister.

“ First try deligently and parfytly weill, whither the said Pryour pretendis till vsurp the crown of Scotland to him self; or gene he be mouit to tak armes only of conscience, for deffence of his religion, him self and his dependers and affociatis. Nyxt try what promyses ar broken vnto him and them; be whom, and at whais instance. Thridly, gene they defyir another lieutenant, in fteid of Mons^r Doseill.

“ Gif it be only religion that moues them, we mon commit Scotifmens faules vnto God; for we haue anough ado to reull the consciences of our awen contre men. It is the obedience dew vnto ther lawfull Quen with ther bodyes, that the K. defyres. Gene ane promyfis be maid to them and not kepit, the King nor I has not the wyet. Gif they defyre another lieutenant in fted of Doseill, the K. fall send ane that I hope fall please them.” He menit of Mons^r Dandelot, his sisters sone.

Efter that the Constable had endit his instructions, the K. layd his hand vpon my schulder, and said, “ Do as my goffop hes directed, and

I fall reward yow." Sa I kiffit his Maieſteis hand, and tok my leaue, poſting throw England, and fand the Quen Regent within the auld tour of Facland; becauſe that ſame day, hir army vnder my L. Duc Hammiltoun and Mons^r Dofeill, was rangit in battaill vpon Couper mure, againſt the lordis of the congregation. At what tym, hir Maieſte maid ane hard mean vnto me of hir diſobedient ſubieſtis; bot euen as I was ſpeaking with hir, the Duc and Mons^r Dofeill cam bak fra the ſaid mure, without battaill; wherat the Quen wes very far offendit, and thocht that they had loſt a very fair occaſion.

P. 43. Then I vſed gret moyens to get ſur knowlege gene my L. James Pryour of Sanctandrowes minted to mak hym ſelf K. as was reported of him. Meſter Hendre Belnaves was then in gret credit with hym, and loued me as his awen ſone, be ſome acquaintance I had with him in France, and pleſoures I had done to him during his baniſement. He firſt ſchew vnto me, ſa far as he knew of my L. James intention; and encouragit me to be plane with the ſaid L. James, and affured me of ſecreſie, and of honeſt and plain dealing; for he was a godly, learnit, lang experimented, wyſe confellor; and paſt with me to the ſaid Lord Pryour. Who eſter I had ſchawen him my commiſſion, quhilk was very acceptable vnto hym, he delayed not till aduyſe with any vther of his conſaill, what anſwer he ſuld geue me, bot inſtantly and plainly ſchew me his mynd, in preſens of the ſaid meſter Hendre. Firſt, he declairit what acceptable ſeruice he and his affociatis had done to the Quen Regent, cheifly of lait when as the biſhop of St Androwes had drawen the maiſt part of the clargy againſt the mariage, and transporting of the crown matrimoniall in France; albeit he had bene a cheif aſſiſter of hir to transport the yong Quen ther, and to perſwad the Go-

uernour his brother to brek the contract of mariage with K. Edward of England, as is abone specified. He tald also, what liberte of conscience and ouersicht hir Maieste had granted vnto them, vntill the tym that hir maister houshald, Mons^r de Bouttoncourt, retournit from France with the newes of the paice. And wher as sche had sen fyn chengit hir behauour and contenance towardis him and them that had done hir best seruice, he knew weill anough that it proceadit not of hir awen gud natoure, bot be the perswasions and thretenyngs of hir brether and frendis in France; and farther reherfit vnto me all hir and ther formair proceadingis, wherof mention is maid alredy; affirmyng still his gud will to hir Maiesteis seruice. And to put the Kingis Maieste of France, and hir Maieste, out of all suspition of his vsurpation, he suld banise him self perpetually out of Scotland, gif it wald please the K. of France and the Quen his fouerane, to grant hym and his associatis sic liberte as the Quen Regent had parmitted them, vntill the hame-coming of the said Buttoncourt; prouyding that his rentis suld com to him till France, or any vther contre wher he pleasit to remain. And for securete heirof, sufficient plegis of the noblemen sonnes of Scotland suld be sent in France; that na K. nor Quen of before has had better obedience, nor the Quen his fouerane, notwithstanding of hir absens, suld haue.

With this answer, I tok my journey throw England till France; and at New Castell fell in company with ane Englisman, wha was ane of the Quenis varletis of hir chamber; a man learnit in mathematik, ne-
P.44. gromancye, astrologie, and was also a gud geographe; wha had bene send be the consaill of England to the borders, and to draw a cart or map of sic landis as lyes louse betwen England and Scotland; quhilk

part was allegit to be a frutfull foill, and ferued for na vther purpos bot to loge and be a retrait to theues and lymmers. For then the Quen Elifabeth of England, laitly com to the crown, was aduyfed be hir fecret confellours to render thai partis ciuill, and to enlarge hir boundis therby. I can not tell why they folowed it not fourth, bot fupponis, that the variance that fell out betwen France and Scotland fchortly eftir was the caufe; and for that the maift part of Scotland junit with them, for to get ther help, as falbe fchawen heiraftir. This Englis man and I, be the way enterit in fa gret familiarite, that he fchaw me findre fecretis of the contre and of the court; and amang vther thingis, how that K. Hary the 8., in his lyftym, had bene fa curious as till enquiry at men callit deuyners or negromanciens, what fuld becom of his fone K. Edward 6., and of his tua dochters Mary and Elyzabeth. Answer was maid vnto him again, that Prince Edward his fone fuld haue na dayis nor fucceffion; and that his twa dochters fuld fucead, the ane eftir the vther; and that Mary his eldeft dochter fuld tak in mariage a Spanyart, and bring in famany of tha ftrangers in England, quhilk fuld be caufe of gret ftryf and alteration; and that Elyzabeth fuld regne efter hir, wha fuld mary other a Scottifman or a Frenchman. Wherupon the King caufed geue poyfoun to baith his faid dochters; quhilk becaufe it tok not fic fec as he fupposed, (for they finding them felues alterit be vehement vomiting and laccetis, tok fome remedy,) he caufed proclame them baith baftardis. Bot the wemen that hanted with Quen Mary allegit that hir matrice wes confumed; for fche was findre tymes fupponit to be with chyld to the Kyng Phillip of Spain, yet brocht fourth na thing bot dead lumps of flefch, and monfters. Therefore to be reuengit vpon hir father, the Englifman tald me, that fche caufed fe-

cretly in the nycht tak vp hir fathers banes, and maid them to be brunt. This the honest man affirmed to be true, and not knawen till many. He wes a man of gret grauite, about fyfty yeares of age; and when we cam till London, he schew me gret courtesie, and maid me presentis of some bukis.

At my retournyng in France, I fand gret chengement. The King Hendre 2. being hurt in the head with the skelv of a spair, be the Conte of Mongommery, at the triumphall justin of his dochters mariage with the K. of Spain, died aucht dayes efter, in the Turnelles at Paris; and the Constable my maister wes commandit to retyre him fra court to his houe, be the new K. Francis the 2. husband till our fouerane; halely gydit then be the Duc of Guise and Cardinall of Lorrane, compeditours to the said Constable be court emulation. Quhilk was cause that my voyage and answer wes all in vain; for that purpos and plat fuld haue been brocht till pass by the houe of Guise, wha wer thocht to be cheif causers of the troubles in Scotland.

P.45. When I schew the Constable at his houe the answer of my commiffion, quhilk was till his awen hartis desyre, the tears cam ouer his cheikis, faying, "Alace for the los of the K. my gud maister, that he fuld not haue sean before his death Scotland recouerit again, quhilk he eftemed tint; and ye are also frustrat of a gud reward, quhilk this your seruice merited. Now I haue not sic moyen as I had till aduance yow; bot gene ye will tak sic part as I haue, ye falbe very welcom." I answerit, that as I had bene with him in his prosperete, I wald not leaue him in his aduersite.

Nowther wes na mair apperance of concord betwen the Quen Regent and the Congregation in Scotland; for the K. of France wes raisen men

of wair to fend in Scotland. The Congregation again socht help of the Quen of England; quhilk they obtenit, the rather becaufe that the Englis ambaffadour resident in France aduertist his mestres, how that the Quen of Scotland and hir husband had tane on the styll of England and Yreland, and also the armes vpon ther filuer plait and tappifferyes.

The Quen Regent, with Mons^r Doseill and the Frenchemen, incloise them selues within Leith; quhilk they did fortifie to kep, the better to refaue the Frenche support that wes daly lukit for to ther releaf. At lenth they that wer besegit maid a forty, tok the arteilgerie, and caused the Congregation to fle and retire, till ane army of England cam in vnder the condit of the Duc of Norfolk. At what tym the Quen Regent, being euell at ease for the fee air in Leith, retirrit hir self to the Castell of Edenburgh, wher sche tok feaknes and died. During the tym that Leith was beseiged baith be Scotland and England, then all Scottisemen that wer in France wer detested, and dyuers of them vpon suspition maid prifoners; quhilk caused me repair to the court from the Constables house, and requyred liffence at the Quen my fouerain to vefit vther contres, wherby I mycht be mair able efterwart to do hir Maieste agreable seruice. Hir Maieste presented me to the K. hir husband; kissing his Maiesteis hand, I tok my leaue; and the Constable my gud maister, together with the Conte Rygraue, wret in my fauoris to the Electour Palatin, wher I was aduyfit first to remain, to learn the Duche tong; and wes courtesly refaut be the said Prince Electour, and obtenit sic fauour with hym, that he fend me in France sa schone as he hard of the death of Francis 2. K. of France, wha died at Orleance in the year [1560.]

I wes fend to condoll for the said Kingis death, as the custom of

princes is, and reioise with the new yong K. Charles the ix. ; also to comfort our Quen and the Quen mother. This Kingis death maid a gret chengement; for the Quen mother was blyeth of the death of K. Francis hir sone, becaufe sche had na gyding of him, bot only the Duc of Guise and Cardinall his brother, beraifoun that the Quen our maistres
P.46. wes ther sifter dochter. Sa the Quen mother was content to be quyt of the gouvernement of the house of Guise; and for ther cause, sche had a gret mislyking of our Quen. In the mean tym the King of Navar and Prince of Conde his brother, that wer wardit and fuld haue bene execut thre dayes efter, the skaffald being alredy preparit, wer be the Quen mother releaut. The Constable also chargit to com to the court loket for na les, and feamed to be seak, making litle journees caried in a horse litter, drewe tym fa lang be the way that the K. in the mean tym died. Then he lap on horfbak and cam fracly to the court and commandit, lyk a Constable, the men of wair that gardit the croun be the Duc of Guise commandement, to pak them aff the toun. The Quen mother wes also very glaid of his commyng, that be his autorite and frendschip with the K. of Navar, sche mycht the better dryue the house of Guise to the dur. The estaitis chancit to be convenit at Orleans for the tym; the K. of Navar, as nereft of bluid, fell to be tutour and gouvernour to the yong K. and contre; bot the Quen mother knawing his facillite, handled the matter fa fynly be the Constables help, that the K. of Navar procurit at the thre estaitis to grant that the Quen mother mycht be regent of the realm; wher he gaif hir ouer his place, and wes content to be bot hir lieutenant.

Efter that sche had won this hich point, sche caused the estaitis requyre a compt to be maid vnto them, asweill be the Constable as be

the Duc of Guise and the Cardinall, and Marchall of St Andre, of ther handling of the Kingis rentis and affaires of the crown and contre; quhilk becaufe they culd not justly do, they wer fayn to leaue the court, as also the Marchall of St Andre, and bandit together to deffend them selues against the Quen mothers malice; for sche wes a deadly ennemy to all them that had gydit other hir husband or hir eldeft sone. I was all the whyll ther at Orleance, wher I mycht se this chengement; and in gret fauour with the said K. of Navar, for the Electour Palatins saik, wha was his greteft frend; and lyk wayes the Quen mother maid gret accompt of the said Prince Electour, and dispatched me with gret thankis and a fair reward worth a thowfsand crownis. Our Quen also, feing her frendis in disgrace, and knawen hir self no to be weill lyked, left the court, and was a sorowfull wydow when I tok my leaue at hir in a gentilmans houle four myll fra Orleans. Sa I returnit in Dutcheland, with many instructions fra the Quen mother and K. of Navar; for the Quen mother apperit to be a gaitwart to profefs publykly the reformed religion, thinking it the metest way to reteane the gouvernement and gyding of the K. of Navar, and the metest faction to gainstand the houle of Guise, wha wer bandit with the Paip and K. of Spain. The said Quen again had in hir head to band with the princes protestantis of Dutchland, and with the Quen of England, and with the Conte of Eggemont, Prince Orange, Conte of Horn, and sic as had in the Low Contrees embraffit the religion reformed.

I being retournit in Dutcheland, refaut newes out of England fra Maister Killigrew my auld frend, how that the paice was concludit in Scotland at the feige of Leith; that the Frenchemen suld be caried in
P. 47. France be the Quen of Englandis schippis, and the Congregation till

haue the fre exercifion of ther religion; the Quen of Scotland to put away the armories of England, and alfo the ftyll; and the paice maid at Cambrifis to ftand as it was ther concludit. I leaue all the proceedingis vpon the warres in Scotland to fic as wer prefent, and will wret that haill hiftory; only I tueche fic litle ; as I was employed intill my felf, or wher I wes prefent, and faw with my eyn and hard with my eares; quhilk may ferue for litle parentefis to the hiftory wreters that par-chance wanted the knowlege therof.

Our Quen, then Douagiere of France, retired hir felf be litle and litle farther and farther fra the court of France; that it fuld not feam that fche was in any fort compellit therunto, as of a treuth fche was, be the Quen mothers rygorous and vengeable dealing; wha allegit that fche was difpyfed be hir gud dochter, during the fchort regne of K. Francis 2. hir husband, be the inftigation of the houfe of Guife.

Mons^r de Martegnes, Mons^r Dofeill, Mons^r la Brois, the bifchop of Amyence, Mons^r Ruby, and fic vthers Frenchemen as wer laitly caried out of Scotland within the Englifch fchippis, reforted vnto the Quen, and declared vnto hir the haill progres and fucces of therpretencis; and afweill they as the reft of hir frendis, aduyfit hir to return in Scotland, and encuragit hir with the hope to fucced vnto the crown of England, rather then to abyd the Quen mothers difdain in France; and for hir beft, willit hir to ferue the tym, and till accomod hir felf discretly and gently with hir awen fubiectis, and to be maift famylier with my L. James Pryour of St Androwes hir naturell brother, and with the Erle of Argyll, wha had married Lady Jene Stuart hir naturell fifter; and to vfe the fecretair Liddingtoun, and the lard of Grange maift tenderly in all hir affaires; and in effect, to repoife maift vpon them of

the reformed religion. Sa they that wer a litle before creully persecuted, ar now to be suted for cheffest and surest frendis. Thus way can God by his devyn provydence renverse the fynest practyses and pretences of mychty reulers and potentatis, and turn all to the best vnto them that serues him with a fencer hart. On the other part, God abhorris all sic subiectis as hypocritically vnder pretext of religion, tak occasion to rebell against ther natyf princes, for ambition, gredynes or any worldly respect.

The Pryour of St Androwes being aduertist of the Quen his foue-
ranis deliberation to return in Scotland, and to vse him and his frendis
aduyse by all vthers, he passis him self in France, and requeistis hir
Maieste to com hame till hir awen; promysen to serue hir faithfully
to the vttermaist of his power; and returnis again in Scotland befor hir,
to prepar the hartis of the subiectis again hir hame commyng. Eftir
this hir Maieste past to Jenville, the Duc of Guise duelling plaice, and
about the marches of Lorrain, and at lenth past to vesit the Duc of
P. 48. Lorrain at Nancy; wher I chancit to com schortly efter in company
with the Duc Hans Casymir, second sone to my Lord Electour Palatin.
Bot the Quen was alredy parted fra the court of Lorrain toward Jen-
ville, wher I tok occasion to vesit hir Maieste, with the offer of my
maist humble and dewtifull seruice; and the said Duc Casymir vnder-
standing that I wes to ryd ther, did wret a very humble letter vnto hir
Maieste, conforting hir the best he culd, and with the offer of his ser-
uice, incaice any in France wald do hir wrang or injury, to bring vnto
hir ayd ten thowfand men vpon hir semple letter. Hir Maieste wes
mekle rejosit at this his honest offer, for euen then sche had adowith the
help and confort of hir frendis; and gaif me also many thankis for the
oppinion sche had found alwais in the court of France, of my affection

towardis hir seruice; defyring me earnestly, when I wes to retire me out of Germany, to com hame and serue hir Maieste, with frendly and fauorable offers. Sa I returnit bak to the Duc Casymyr, wha was ther to mak a mariage with the Duc of Lorrains eldest sifter; quhilk tok not effect, because the auld dutches hir mother, who wes K. Christyarnus dochter of Denmark, gottin vpon the Emperour Charles sifter, wha also lost the kingdom of Denmark, pretending to mak it heritable, wheras it wes electywe, the said K. Christyarnus wes kepit in presoun vntill his death: This dutches his dochter allegit the kingdome of Noroway appartean vnto hir as ayr vnto hir father, and that the said kingdome wes heredytair vnto hir father, albeit not Denmark; and intendit to mary hir eldest dochter then vpon Frederik K. of Denmark, and to geue ouer with hir said dochter the kingdome of Noroway. Bot the said dutches offerit hir second dochter to the Duc Casymir, quhilk he also refusit, and delt with his father to send me in England to propon mariage for him vnto the Quen of England; quhilk I refused to do, knawing as I beleued that sche wald never mary, vpon the conceat that I had that sche, knawing hir self vnable for succeffion, be the taill that her varlet of her chamber had tald me, I said still that sche wald not render hir self subiect till any man. The said duc wes very angry at me, because I refusit to pass with that commiffion.

About this tym the Cardinall of Lorrain being at Trent, tok occasion to vefit the auld Emperour Ferdynand at Yfbruck, his duelling place not far fra Trent. And ther the said Cardinall proponit tua mariages; first, the K. of France Charles the ix, to the eldest dochter of Maximilien sone to Ferdynand, and new chosen King of Romanis and coadjutor to thempyre; then he proponit the Quen of Scotland, dowa-

gier of France, to Charles Archeduc of Austria, brother to the said Maximilien. The Quen was then retournit in Scotland, and appeirantly efterwart aduertist be the said Cardinall, how he had proponit the said mariage and had gottin a gud anfuer.

P.49. The Quen being returnit in Scotland, was glaidly welcom vnto the haill fubiectis. For folowing the confaill of hir frendis, sche behaued hir self humanly vnto them all; bot committed the cheif handling of hir affaires to hir brother the Pryour of St Androwes, (whom efterwart sche maid Erle of Murray,) and to the secretaire Liddingtoun, as metest baith to hald the contre at hir deuotion, and also to pak vp a strait frendship betwen hir Maieste and the Quen of England. For my L. of Murray had gret credit with my L. Robert Dudly, wha was efterwart maid Erle of Leceister; and the secretaire Liddingtoun had gret credit with the secretaire Cicill. Sa thir four packit vp a strait and sifterly frendship betwen the twa Quenis and ther contrees, as aperit outwardly na mair difference in langage, bot that the Quen of England wes the eldest sifter, and the Quen of Scotland the yonger sifter, whom the Quen of England promysed to declair second persone, with tym, according to hir gud behauour; sa that lettres and intelligence past oukly be post betwen them, and naething mair defyred for the first then that they mycht see vther, be a meating at a convenient place, wherby they mycht also declair ther hartly and loving myndis till vther. For the ingratitude and mishandling of our Quen be the Quen Mother of France, moued hir the mair cairfully and earnestly to mak frendship by hir, and rathest with them whom sche lyked worst; for then the house of Guise wer also be hir decourted at the estaitis of Orleans, as is specified of before. The twa Quenis keping on this ma-

ner ther outwart frendfchip for a whyll, with the plain and honest menyng of our Quen, as I knew perfytylly efterwart.

Ther cam a wreting to me out of Scotland from the fecretary Liddingtoun, be the Quenis command, willing me to be acquainted with the Archeduc Charles of Auftria, yongest brother to Maximilien, then K. of Romans, and Emperour in effect; for themperour Ferdinand his auld father bur bot the name, be raifoun of his age. This Charles had bene proponit be the Cardinall of Lorrain for to mary the Quen our maiftres, as is els fpecified. I wes then defyred to knaw of his religion, of his rentis, and of his qualites, and to fend hame word to the Quen; as also of his age and ftature, and his pictour to fend therewith, gif it culd be poffible; quhilk wes thocht that I mycht eafely knaw and obtean be the meanis of the Prince Electour Palatin my maifter, for the tym greteft in fauour be apperance with the faid Maximilien.

Now my faid L. Electour had be auentour of his awen head, (he beand at ane imperiall convention halden in Aufbrugh) askit at Maximilian, what wes the errand or the matter that the Cardinall of Lorrain had bene in dealing with his father Ferdinand, that tym that he cam to him out of Trent, wher the confell wer fittand for the tym. For the gud Elector fearit that it wes for fome papifticall matters; for Ferdinand wes a deuot Catholik, and Maximilien feamed to be a zelous protestant. For P. 50. Maximilien wes bot laitly chofen King of Romanis at Franckfort, not without difficulte. Being ane of the feuen electours him felf, as King of Bohem, he had to fute fex electours for ther votis; to wit, thre princes protestantis, the Electour Palatin, Duc of Sax, and Markifs of Brandenburg; and thre bifchoppes, Magonce, Triers, and Colen, catholikis. Baith thir factions wer put in hope that being Emperour, he wald

declair him self to the protestantis, efter the discese of Ferdinand his father; and in the mean tym vsed secrete preachingis to please them. On the other part he past openly to the mess, wherby the bischoppis thocht them selues assured of him; bot the gud Electour Palatin beleued firmly that he wald schaw him self a plain protestant efter his fathers discese. Alwais, he wan baith the parties to becom Emperour, and tald the Electour Palatin, at the convention in Ausburgh, how that the Cardinall of Lorrain had proponit twa mariages to the Emperour his father. The ane wes Charles the yong K. of France, to Maximiliens eldest dochter; the other wes the Quen of Scotland douagier of France, to his brother the Archeduc Charles. The Electour inquyred how he lyked of the twa mariages. He said, he culd not bot lyk weill of them; seing he culd not get a better matche to his dochter then the K. of France, nor to his brother then the Quen of Scotland, douagier of France, and as the Cardinall allegit, to haue ryght also to the crown of England. The Electour said, sen that he lykit weill of his brothers mariage with the Quen of Scotland, that he had a Scottisch gentilman with him, wha culd schaw him perfytly of that richt and of the estaitis of England and Scotland, and culd be a gud instrument to bring fordwart the said mariage.

Wherupon Maximilien desyred to speak with me; and because I was absent in the contre of Hesse for the tym, to send me vnto him at my retournyng; quhilk the gud Electour did, and send with me ane of his confell, callit Mons^r Zuleger, geving us together a commission to deall for Vlrich Fouker, wardit be his awen frendis because of his extraordinair magnificence, quhilk they allegit to be waisting prodigalite; and he again allegit that they did it because he wes a pro-

testant. When we had vsed our conjunct commiffion, Zuleger my compaignion tald his Maieſte, that I had a particulaire commiffion, and ſa retirir him and left me alane in the chamber ; wher I preſentit a letter vnto his Maieſte, wreten with the electours awen hand in Dutche, declaring how I wes the Scottiſch gentilman whom he promyſed to fend. Sa his Maieſte, efter that he had red the wreting, ſchaw me the part wher the Electour affured hym that I wald ſchaw him the treuth of all ſic thingis as I knew that he wald ſpeir at me ; and ſaid, “ Ye are mekle behalden to the Electour Palatin, for he hes infourmed me weall of yow ; I prey yow tell me how lang haue ye remanit in his company.” I ſaid, thre yeires and mair. He inquyred why I maid not anſwer in Dutche ; I ſaid, becauſe I had the Frenche mair famyliar, and knew that na langage culd com wrang to his Maieſte ; indeid he culd alſo ſpeak gud Latin, Ytalien, Eſpaignoll, P.51. Sclavon, and Frenche. Then he inquyred again in French, how I cam to the Electour Palatin. I ſaid, that being brocht vp in the court of France, with the Conſtable, at what tym ther fell out ſome variance betwen France and Scotland, partly for religion myxt with ſome vther particulartez, wherof procedit a miſlyking of ſamany Scotis men as wer for the tym in France ; that ſome Scotis men wer wardit vpon ſuſpition, and ſome wer loked down vpon ; quhilk mouit me to tak the occaſion to veſit vther contrees, quhilk I had deliberat to do lang of before ; and mynding to begin in Dutcheland, the Conſtable of France addreſſit me to the Electour Palatin be his fauorable wreting. He inquyred how lang I had remanit with the Conſtable ; I ſaid, nyn yeiris. Then he ſaid, that I was happy to haue bene ſa lang in company with the twa wyfeſt in Europe, and that he was glaid to be acquainted with me ; and began to ſchaw me the cauſe why he deſyred to ſpeak with

me ; inquiring of the estait of Scotland, of ther lait troubles with France, of the agrement new maid, and sen the agrement what gret men had the gretest handling, and all the noblemens names that had affistid baith the parties ; and proceadit to inquiryre of the help that England had maid vnto Scotland, during ther troubles with France ; gif they wer bandit together, and gene ther frendschip continowed ; and of the Quenis richt to England, and gif the nobilite of Scotland wald be glaid to set fordwart ther Quen vnto the crown of England ; and gene they wald think it a weall vnto the crown of Scotland, to haue the twa contrees junit tother, supposing ther Quen or Prince wald rathest duell in the best contre, and wald be that way farther fra them. Thir and many vther thingis he inquiryred ; to the quhilkis I anfuerit the best I culd. Then he said, it wes not the least gud office that my Lord Electour had done vnto hym, in sending me ther ; and thankit me also for the panes I had tane, and said, gif Charles his brother chan- cit to be sa happy as till obtean our Quen in mariage, that na man fuld haue mair credit with him then I ; willing me to abyd with him a whyll, that he mycht discours with me at mair lenth. Sa eftir that I had taried with hym xv dayes, with fauorable and humain enter- tenement when his leasor wald permit, putting me in hope that Charles wald be schortly at hym, and tald me sic newes as cam till hym out of all contrees ; specially of the death of the Duc of Guise be Poltrot at the seage of Orleans, and apperit to be glaid of the death of that vailgeant wariour. I culd not juge for the tym what moued him.

Efterwart be oft conference wyth him, I persauit and suspected that he wald be found ennemy to the mariage of his brother with the Quen ; and to get some tryall therof, I requestit my compaignon Mons' Zuleger, to

drink him felf mery with fome of his fecretaires, and then to caft in the purpos of the mariage of Duc Charles with the Quen of Scotland, whither it was defyred and lyked by Maximilien or not. The faid fecretaire fchew hym, how that he was againft any fa gret preferrement to his brother, wherby he mycht becom King of Scotland and England baith; be raifoun of a mint that themperour Charles 5. maid anes, to devyd his dominions amang the thre fonnes of Ferdinand his brother, failgeing aires of K. Phillip his fone; wha then had bot a fone, to wit Don Carle, feakly of complexin, whom he efterwart flew secretly in prifoun hym felf, fufpecting him to be of the reformed religion and having P.52. intelligence with the princes of Flanders that profeffit the fame; and Maximilien hoped to fucced to the haill, failgeing aires of the faid K. Philipe, as having married the faid Philips fifter, and had many children of his awen with hir, who he defyrit to be preferrit rather then his awen brother. For incaice the Archeduc Charles had been K. of Scotland and England, he mycht the better vfurp the Law Contres, vpon the allegiance of fome auld rycht.

Eftir that I vnderftod this I wald tary na langer, bot preffit daly to return towardis my L. Ele&tour; and he again to ftay me befyd him, feamed that he wuld fayn haue reteanit me in his feruice; at lenth willit me to tary bot a half year; bot humbly excufing my felf, for that I wes fend for to be fchortly in Scotland; quhilk moued hym the mair ernestly to defyre me to tary with hym. Quhilk becaufe I wald not grant to do, I thocht he was discontent; and a nycht lait efter fupper, he parted in a boit towardis the town of Lintis, and fend his fecretary vnto me, excufing him that he mycht not meit with me before his parting, for he had ane neceffary occafion; and feing I was to return

in Scotland, he had wreten a letter to the Quen in my fauours and commendation, quhilk the secretaire delyuerit vnto me. I tald the secretaire that I had not yet seane Italy, and that I was purposed first to se Venise, Rome, and sic thingis as wer to be seane ther, before my retournyng in Scotland, and refused the said letter at the first. He said, "Ther is na danger how lang it be on delyuerit, nathing contenit therein bot concernyng your self." The toun of Ausburgh being the nereft part of Germany towardis Venise, I agreid with Mons^r Zuleger to retourn towardis my L. Electour; and I tok my journey to Venise and Rome, and cam bak throw all the fairest townis, and throw the Swiflers land till Heidilberg, wher the Prince Electour held his court.

I haue said heir abone how that the Duc of Guise wes flain be Poltrot during the seige of Orleans, efter the battaill of Drues; in the quhilk baith the chiftanis war tane, the Prince of Conde for them of the religion, and the Constable for the K. The Quen mother maid the paice incontinent betwen the parties, against the mynd of Madame de Guise, wha requested hir not to mak the paice so sodanly, for then it wald be thocht that the Duc of Guise had bene the only cause of the warres. The Quen mother past fordwart nevertheles with the paice, chenging the Prince of Conde for the Constable, making them baith gud instrumentis of the agreement. The paice being maid, the Quen mother maid moyen for a wyf to hir sone K. Charles, and for that effect send vnto the Prince Palatin, a secretaire callit Monsieur Mylot; schawing vnto hym how that the King hir sone had apprehendit earnestly the mariage of Maximiliens eldest dochter; willing him as a trusty frend, of his awen head to propone the matter as a stedable allyance for the weill of the empyre; and to send hir his apperance, and

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the yong prences picture, quhilk fche thocht méit to be done before fche wald proceed mair publykly, for some raifones that fche had for hir; quhilk he did very deligently, and fend me in France with the answer and pictour, with a congratulation of the lait maid paice.

P.53. At my commyng to the court of France, quhilk wes at Paris for the tym, the Conftable wald nedis be my convoy to the yong K. and Quen mother; wha had a mislyking of the faid Conftable for the tym, as having brocht in the Admyrall to Paris againft hir will; wha was acufit to haue promysed reward vnto the foirfaid Poltrot for to fley the Duc of Guife. The Admyrall again defyred to com before the preuy confaill, till purge him felf and to be tryed; bot the Quen mother defyred rather ther hattrent and contention to continow, as having layed hir plat till fysche hir gretnes in the dromely pondes of ther ftryf, as was manifestly fean fen fyn. For during ther deuyfion, the Duc of Guife, K. of Navar, Prince of Conde, Conftable, Marchall of St Andre, with the maift notable gret men of France, wer all flain down; and becaufe the faid Admyrall efchaipit during the warres, the paice was maid for the thrid tym; and vnder traift, at the mariage of the yong Prince or K. of Navar, now K. of France, the faid Admyrall was murdrift, with all that refted of the worthyest noblemen and captens of France.

To return vnto the purpos; the Conftable and Admyrall wer at court at that tym againft the Quen mothers will; wher the Admyrall wes declairit innocent of the Duc of Guife flaughter. And at that tym the Conftable determinit to abyd at court, and till mantean him felf ther in his office of Gret Maifter, and be the autorite of his gret office of the conftablerie, affifted be the force of his frendis; for he vnderftod fufficiently the Quen mothers Italien trickis. Therefore he to won credit

presented me to the yong King, and sat down vpon a stull besyd him and the Quen his mother, and held his bonet vpon his head, taking vpon him the full autorite of his gret office; to the Quen mothers gret mislyking, with sic impasience that sche turnt away hir faice when I wes declairen my commissioun, efter the delyuerie of my lettres of credence to the K. and hir. Quhilk the K. wes very glaid to heir, being therby put in hope that the mariage wald tak effect, and wes sa desyrous to se the picture of that lusty yong princefs, that he cutted the thredis him self that band on the waxit claith about the said picture. And I in the mean tym reterit me fourth of the chamber, and was earnestly socht that after nun, bot not found vntill the Constable and Admyrell cam to ther chamber at euen. Wha requyring to wit the cause of my retering, I remembrit the Constable how he mycht see the rage that the Quen mother was intill; and how I again stod vpon the reputation of my maister, wha was a fre prince. Then they wer glaid, and said that I had done weill, and schew me how they wer the cause; and that sche had maid a proclamation, that na ambaffador fuld address them bot vnto the K., and hir as Regent; therefore aduyfit me to pass the nyxt day to see hir at denner, and that sche wald not fail to call for me, and inquyre the cause of my absenting before I had tald out my haill commissioun; and instructed me what I fuld say for answer. Sa schone as hir Maieste saw me, sche send and desyred me to stay ther till sche had dynet, and that sche fuld send for the K. hir sone to com to hir chamber, to heir out the rest of my commissioun. The K. being com, the chamber wes yffched.

P. 54. Hir Maieste first inquyred, why I tald not out the rest of my commissioun the day before. I answerit, as I was instructed, how

that it apperit to me, that for the tym fche had na will of fa many auditours, and that I fteyed vpon hir better opportunitie. Quhilk anfwer fche feamed to tak in a gud part, willing me when at any tym I mycht be fent again, to addrefs my felf only to the K. and to hir, and to nane vther. To that I anfwerit, that amang all the Kingis faruandis I was beft acquainted with the Conftable, and therefore maid him my convoy to baith ther Maiefties. "Na," faid fche, "I find na falt that ye addreffit yow to my gud goffup;" bot fche batted hym deadly. Sa efter that I had endit the declaration of my hail commiffion, firft anent the congratulation of the paice, and excufes of the confederat princes of thempyre for fending help to the Prince of Conde, during the warres for the religion, with a request to kepe the faid paice vnviolat, and till mak fic lawes of obliuion as wer wont to do the Grekis and Romanis efter fic ciuill difcenfions; and then how that my Lord Electour had procedit with Maximilien, and how his anfwer was at wiffis. All the tym that I fpak, fche remembrit the K. to tak gud head, and faid he was mekle obliff to that gud prence that tok fic panes for his mariage, and for the weall of his affaires.

Then fche entrit with me in particulair, eftemyng that I wald not fpend ouer mekle tym in Dutcheland, feing that I was firft brocht vp in the court of France; for albeit, fche faid, fche had anew that culd fpeak Dutche, yet few wer fa famylierly acquainted with the princis of thempyre, or that had fic fauour and credit as fche vnderftod I had, to do the K. and hir feruice; therfor offerit to mak me gentilman of the Kingis chamber, prouydit with ane honorable penfion, and to be aduancit till offices and honnours as gene I wer a Frencheman born; and that fche wald employ me not only in Germany, bot alfo in England and Flanders.

I thocht her Maieſteis offers very acceptable; bot in the mean tym that I was awaiting vpon my diſpaſche, the Admyralis death was conſpyred be the brether and frendis of the Duc of Guiſe, to be executed be capten Charry, in greteſt fauour with the Quen mother as cheif capten of hir garde ouer vi hundreth hacbuters, Gaſcons choſen out of his regiment, by the ordinary gard. The ſaid enterpryſe being diſcouerit to the Conſtable be the auld Dutches of Ferrar, dochter to K. Louys the xij., mother to the Dutches of Guiſe wydow, the Conſtable paſt to his houſe 4 legues fra Paris; and the nyxt day efter, the ſaid Capten Charry was ſlain vpon the caſſay of Paris, be Mons^r Chattelier thadmyralis frend, quhilk pat the Quen and all the court in ane fear and firme oppinion, that the dede was done be the Conſtable and Admyralis direction. Bot the Admyrall purgit him ſelf. The Conſtable was ſend for, and many requeſtis maid vnto hym to ſattill and eſtabliſ quyetnes in the court and town.

P. 55. Being yet at Paris on diſpatched, I raſauit wrettingis to com in Scotland, directed by my lordis of Murray and Liddingtoun, at the Quenis Maieſteis command, to be employed in ſome of her hyenes affaires of conſequence, quhilk I vnderſtod to be anent hir Maieſteis mariage. Wherupon I tok deliberation, at my retournyng in Germany, to mak a voyage in Scotland; far againſt the oppinion of the Conſtable, the Admyrall and the Prince Palatin; bot his ſone the Duc Caſimir tok occaſion to deſyre me till preſent his picture to the Quen of England. I haue ſaid alredy how that he was angry at me, becauſe I refuſed to be ſent in England till propon his mariage to that Quen; being perſuadit thertu by the Vydame of Charters, laitly com ther from the court of England; wha thocht him ſelf

fa famylier with the said Quen, that he fend a gentilman Italien of his to propon that mariage, as he allegit, at the instance of the Electour Palatin. To whom the Quen gaif a generall alluring answer, desyring the yong prince to com in England, eyther openly or prevely disgyfed; and how that sche wald never mary any man till sche mycht first see him. Still I diffuadit his father to fend hym, alleging that it wald be gret chargeis to him, and get nathing bot scorn for recompence; wherat the yong prince was fa commoved that he left the court for thre dayes. Bot the gud prince his father fend for him, and boisted him, incaice he becam not my frend. Sa we wer agreid that at this tym I suld cary with me his picture, and present it to the Quen of England in my hame passing throw England, feing that I was fa far against his ganging ther; whilk I was content to do, prouyding that I mycht also haue hame with me the picture of his father, his mother, and of all the rest of his brether and sistes, together with a famylier wreting from the Electour, wherby I mycht haue the better occasion and acces to bring in the purpos of the pictures as be accident; hoping that sche wald desyre to see them, specially the picture of the said yong Duc.

And having obtenit my desyre, I tok my leaue and parted from Heidelberg, wher my gud lord Electour held his court for the tim; wha gaif me commissioun to the Quen of England, to wit, an answer to hir demandit allyance offensyve and deffensyve with the princes protestantis of Germany; quhilk of before was bot obscurly answerit vnto hir ambassadour Sir Hery Knollis, at the dyet imperiall halden at Franckfort the year 1562; excusing him self and the rest of the princes his confederatis, wha had bot new chosen Maximilien to be K. of Romaines, and coadjutor to themperour his father; and that he had promysed vnto

them to schew him self a plane protestant, sa schone as he durst efter the discese of his auld father Ferdinand; and in the mean tyme, had ther promyse to kepe correspondance with him, and to mak na band with any forrene prince, by his consent and knowlege; quhilk gene they did, he mycht perchance tak occasion therupon to lay the wyet on them, incaice he did not as he had promysed. For they began to fear and dout of his vprycht meanyng anent the religion, and yet thocht not meit to mak him any occasion for ther part; bot incaice he kepit not his promyse efter the discese of Ferdinand, they fuld then planly band, and mak sic allyance with hir as sche had requyred; quhilk they durst not for the tyme discouer vnto hir ambassadour; requesting hir Maieste yet to kepe this secreet vnto hir self.

P. 56. This excuse sche seamed to tak in a gud part, and promysed to discouer it to nane of hir confaill; bot sche lamented that the princes of Germany wer sa flaw and langsome in all ther deliberations. Wherupon again I began till prayse them for ther treuth, constancy, religion, ordour, and quik execution eftir they had concludit any wechty matter; bot I fet out maist specially the Electour Palatin his humanite, his trating of strangers, vphalding of vniversites; and how he was the mouth of his confideratis, to deall with all vther prencis nybours. Sche said that I had raifoun to speak sa of him, for he had wreten very far in my fauour, and how that he wald fayn haue retenit me langer with hym. I schew again how laith I was to leaue him; and for to haue the better remembrance of hym, I desyred to cary hame with me his picture, and the pictures of his wyf and all his sones and dochters. Sa schone as sche hard of the pictures, sche failed not till inquyre gif I had the picture of the Duc Hans Casymir, and desyred very earnestly

to se it ; and when I allegit that I had left the saidis pictures at Londoun, sche being then at Hamtoncourt ten mylles fra Londoun, and that I wes redy to pafs fordwart, sche said I fuld not part till sche had sean the haill pictures. Sa the nyxt day I delyuerit them all vnto hir Maieste, and sche desyred to retean them all nycht ; bot sche tok my L. Robert Dudly to be juge of the Duc Casymirs picture, and aponted me to meit hir the nyxt mornyng in hir garding ; wher sche caused delyuer them all vnto me, and gaif me thankis for the sicht of them. I again offerit vnto hir Maieste any of the pictures, sa sche wald let me haue the auld Electour and his lady ; bot sche wald haue nane of them. I had also intelligence how first and last sche dispyfed the said Duc Casymir. Therefore I wret bak from Londoun in chiffer, to his father and him self baith, dissuading them to medle any mair in that mariage ; and resaut gret thankis efterwart fra the said yong Duc, wha married incontinent the Duc August Electour of Sax his eldest dochter.

Albeit this is somthing by the purpos that I wes wreten anent the Quen our fouerain, yet it bringis me hame vntill hir Maieste, with som purpos of mariage to hir self. For the Quen of England enterit with me very famylierly, and schew me of the sifterly love that was betwen hir and the Quen my fouerain ; and how cairfull sche was of hir weillfare, and to se hir weall sattelit in hir awen contre with hir subiectis, and also weill married ; and how that sche had in hir head twa perfonas to propone, any ane of the twa, for fittest husbandis vnto hir, wherby ther amytye mycht best stand and increafe ; hopping that sche wald alwayes mary be hir aduyse, for hir weall ; promysen vpon hir faith to wret vnto me with hir awen hand, schortly efter my hame-

commynge in Scotland, that I mycht be a gud instrument to moue the Quen my mestres till accept other the ane or the other. Albeit sche forget to wret vnto me theranent, sche send instructions vnto Mester Randolph, till propon my L. Robert Dudley as a meit husband for our Quen. I suppone that my Lord Robert Dudley, efterwart Erle of Lecester, had diffuadit hir to employ me in his mariage with the Quen my fouerane, feing that Mester Randolphe was ther alredy hir Hynes agent.

P. 57. Now the Quen my maistres, to kep promyse and correspondence with the Quen of England, had send and aduertist hir, how that the mariage with Archeduc Charles was proponit vnto hir; requyring hir frendly aduyse and consent therto.

The Quen of England answerit, be hir agent Mester Thomas Randolphe, as folowes. Efter a litle preface this he declaires, and geues in be wret, the Quen his mestres mynd.

“The Quen my fouerane,” said he, “hes not only deaply aduyfed vpon the matter anent the mariage of your Maieste, bot hes also thocht it necessary now by me, to schaw yow what sche thinketh baith meit and vnmeit to be confiderit, and seamly for hir be way of frendship to declair, as a dear sifter that intendis your Maiesties honnour, and a loving frend that is cairfull for your Graces weall.

“Thre speciall thingis hir Grace thinkis fit to be confiderit in mariage. First, the mutuell contentation betwen baith parties, in respect of ther priuat personages, sa that the loue may probabely continow, asweill before God as man.

“Secondly, that the personage may be such as your Maieste, being

a Quen of a gret realm and multitude of people, may be fure of ane vnfengeit allyance, be your nobilite realm and commouns.

“Thridly, that the chuse be futch, that the amytie quhilk is now fastrait betwix the Quenis Maieſte and your Hynes, not only for your awen perſonnes bot with boith your realmes, may be continuat and not defoluit nor diſininiffit.”

Then he delaitis at lenth, how that he dows not bot hir Maieſte, wha was anes maried, will confideratly wey the match to be very meit boith for hir and hir awen ſubieſtis; bot anent the thrid head, that belanges vnto the Quen his ſouerane, it merit is to be weall looked vpon.

“It is trew that the ſeaking out of a huſband to your Maieſte is honorable and expedient; a thing that hir Maieſte lyketh weall of in your Grace, albeit hitherto ſhe has not found ſuch diſpoſition in hir ſelf; remitting hir hart and mynd in that behalf to be directed be almychty God.

“Bot this heir in hir Maieſte confidereth, that to ſeak out ſuch a huſband as is weall knawen to hir, is ſocht be your Graces frendis in themperours lineage, moſt bring a maniſeſt danger vnto the pryvat amytie betwix your Maieſties; ane apperant occaſion to deſolue the concord that is preſently betwix the twa nations; and thridly, ane interruption of ſuche a courſe as vtherwaies mycht be taken, to forther or advance ſuche a tytyle as your Grace mycht haue to ſucceed vnto hir Maieſte in the crown of England, gif hir Grace ſuld depart without yſſue of hir body.”

Then he uſes ſome vnfit perſuaſions and menaces; as boiſting how that ſome in England are going about, with practyſes to ſet fordwart

ther pretendit richtis, to hir Maiesteis prejudice ; quhilk fche, be hir discret behauour and confourmitie to his mestres plesour may preuent, “in moving hir not only to proceed in the inquifition of your G. richt, and to forther the fame at hir power, bot also to hender and empefche that quhilk fall feam to the contraire.

“ And now gif your Maiefte wald knaw, what kind of mariage mycht best content hir and hir realm. Such a ane as may bred na jeloufie nor trouble betwix your Maiefties and your contrees, as did the mariage with the Frenche King; bot rather it is to be wiffit, that ther mycht be found out some noble man of gret birthe within England, that mycht be agreable vnto you, with whom hir Maiefte wald more
P. 58. redely and more easely extend and declair the gud will that hir Maiefte has, to caufe you enjoye before any creature any thing fche hes, nyxt hir felf or childrene. Vtherwais I moft planely fay, that my fouerane can promyse nothing agreable to the feruent defyre fche hath to do your G. gud.”

This was Maifter Randolphes first instructions and propofition vnto the Quen, anent hir mariage with the Archeduc Charles. Bot he had a fecret commiffion vnto my L. of Murray, and the fecretair Liddington, to propon my Lord Robert Dudley; and willit me also to fet forward his mariage with the Quen, as meteft of all vther; as falbe declaired mair amply heirefter.

Be this kynd of dealing it apperis weall, how that the Quen of England mislyked the mariage of the Quen with the Archeduc Charles; and gaue farther declairation be fending of the Erle of Suffex to themperours court, afweill to congratulat his coronation, as indirectly to draw on the mariage between the faid Charles and his maiftres the

Quen of England; and brocht that matter fa fynly about, that Charles thocht the mariage with the Quen of England meter, and was put in gret hope that it fuld tak effect. Yit it was not fa secretly handled bot our Quen was aduertist thereof, be some of hir weill willairs in England; wherupon procedit inwart greffis and gruges betwen the twa Quenis; quhilk bursted out at a litle occasioun geuen be the Quen of England, in hirfirst famylier wreting vnto the Quen, appering therby to geue her a frendly aduyse on the auld maner; quhilk the Quen again thocht bot a double dealing, remembring asweill vpon hir lait diffwading answer from the mariage of the Archeduc Charles, as vpon hir practyses newly parfourmed in themperours court. The Quen of Englandis letter was wreten at the sut of some of the frendis of the house of Hammiltoun. For efter that mester Randolph had spoken, as is abone mentionat, against the mariage of the Quen with the Duc Charles, and had allegit that some nobleman born within England wald be meter; he procedit fa far, in preuy conference with my L. of Murray and the secretery Liddingtoun, as to say, "What wald ye think of my L. Robert Dudly for your Quen?" And finding small accompt to be maid therof, aduertifit the Quen his mestres. Wherupon occasioun wes taneto geue leaue vnto Mathow Erle of Lennox, wha dwelt in England for the tym, to pafs in Scotland as desyrous to se the Quen, and tak ordour with some of his awen turnis; whais eldest sone my Lord Darly was a lusty young prince, and apperantly was ane of the twa that the Quen of England had tald me sche had in hir head till offer vnto our Quen, as born within the realm of England.

To return vnto the letter wretin be the Quen of England vnto the Quen; sche wald appear therby to be cairfull for the Quen hir sesters

quyet estait and gouvernement; willing hir to tak head that in schawing plesour to the Erle of Lenox, not to displease nane of the house of Hamiltoun, wherby trouble and stryf in hir contre mycht aryse; quhilk sche allegit to do vpon some brutis that sche had hard; with findre vther sic purposes, that somtymes wald not haue bene tane in ane euell

P. 59. part. Bot now euery aduise geuen be the Quen of England was euell interpret, partly for her proceedingis to the hendrance of the mariage with Charles, and partly because that Seigneur Daud, now enterit to be hir Hynes Frenche secretary, was not very skilfull in dyting of French lettres quhilk sche did not wret ouer again with hir awen hand; for then baith the Quenis wret till vther in Frenche with ther auen handis. The answer then that the Quen wret vnto the said letter, declaired some suspition and anger to have bene tane, in bursting out with some speches, that it was thocht be the Quen of England as an vpgeving of the famylarite and sifterly correspondance that had bene kepit sen the Quenis retourning hame out of France. Wherupon sa gret a cauldnes grew, that they left aff baith fra wretting till vther, as they used to do euery owk, be the postis that passit between ther courtis and Barwick; letting a 2. monethes pass by before that the Quen my mestres tok purpos to send me vnto the Quen of England, to renew ther outward frendship; for in ther hartis, fra that tym fourth, ther was nathing bot gealousies and suspitions. The Quen my maistres thocht that gif ther discord continowed, it wald cut aff all intelligence betwen hir and a number of gud frendis that sche had in England; and that Quen had na will of warres, bot desyred be all meanis possible till eshew commer or any occasion of expensis; the King of Spain and sche being already

entrit in controverfy, and lyk to tak findre courfes, for the troubles and rebellion of Flanders and the Law Contrees; eftemyng hir a fecret fterer vp of them, not without caufe; for fche thocht hir felf abandonit be the K. of Spain, at the lait paice maid at Catteau Cambrifis; and hir cheifef confaillouris thocht convenient for the eftait of England to fofter and nurife contrary factions baith in France, Flanders, Scotland and Spayn.

At my hamecommying in Scotland, I fand the Quenis Maiefte at Sant Jhonftoun, in the year of God 1564. the 5. day of May, and was very fauourably refaut be the Quenis Maiefte; when I prefented vnto hir Hynes, wretingis from themperour Maximilien, the Electour Palatin, the Duc of Lorrain, the Cardinall of Lorrain, and Duc of Aumall, all in my fauours. And efter I had infourmed hir at length how Maximilien was againft the mariage of his brother Charles, fche vnderftanding alfo the Quen of Englandis part therintill, as is abone fpecified, fche pat the mariage with Archeduc Charles clean out of hir conceat. And wheras fche had bene myndit to fend me in Germany, now fche tok purpos to fend me in England; at what tym I was not yet refoluit to fetle my felf in Scotland, feing apperance of fmall commodite, and of greter troubles and difordour then I beleuit to find at my hamecommying; and was laith to loife the occafions and offers of preferrement that had bene maid to me in France and vther partis. Bot the Quen
P. 60. my fouerane was fa instant, and fa weill inclynit, and fchew hir felf endewed with fa many princely vertus, that I thocht it wald be againft gud confcience to leawe hir, requyring fa ernestly my help and feruice to draw hame again ay mair and mair the hartis of hir fubiectis, that

had strayed and wer growen cauld during the lait troubles the quhill that sche was absent in France, and wer junit in a gret frendschip with England; wherin sche had also gret handling for the tym, to won frendis and kepe correspondance with that Quen. Then sche was fa effable, fa gracious and discret, that sche wan gret estymation, and the hartis of many baith in England and Scotland, and myn amang the rest; fa that I thocht her mair worthy to be seruit for litle proffet, then any vther prence in Europe for gret commodite. Then sche was naturally liberall, mair than sche had moyen; for not only provydit sche me with a pension of ane thousand markis, ane part of the same to be tane out of hir drowry in France, bot sche wald also haue geuen me in heritage the landis of Auchtermouchtie besyd Facland; quhilk I refused, alleging the same to be the nereft part of hir propertie, quhilk sche mycht not weall want. Bot another, hearen that sche was se weill harted, socht it and gat it.

This way I was vincuft and won to tary with hir, and to leawe all vthir proffitis or preferrement in France and vther contrees, albeit that for the tym I had na vthir heritage bot my seruice. Sa about 2. or 3. monethes efter my hame commying, I wes sent to the Quen of England, with thir instructions folowing, out of hir Maiesteis awen mouth; to deall with the Quen of England, with the Spanisch ambassadour, and with my Lady Margret Douglas, and with findre frendis sche had in England of dyuers oppinions; and generall instructions wreten be the secretaire Liddingtoun, subscryuit with hir Maiesteis hand, as foloues.

“Instructions to our famylier seruitour James Meluill, presently directed to our derrest sifter the Quen of England. At Edenbrough the 28. of September 1564.

“In the first, efter that ye haue presented our lettres, and maid our commendations in maist hartly maner, ye fall declair vnto our gud sifter, that having bene in our progres towardis the nourthemest partis of our realm thir tua monethes, during the quhilk tym we haue had nether lettres nor vthir aduertisment from our said gud sifter, for continuation of the mutuell intelligence betuix us be all gud offices of amytie, we tok purpos to direct yow towardis hir, to vefit hir vpon our behalf, to lat hir knaw our health and gud estait, and also at your return, be able to report the lyk of hir vnto us ; being the persoun in the warld to whom nyxt our self, we wis maist gud luk and prosperite.

“Item, that by lettres of my Lord Robert to Liddingtoun, as also of her secretery to our brother of Murray, and siclyk to Liddingtoun, we haue perfauit that our said gud sifter findis some falt with our lettres, wreten to hir for answer of hers in the Earle of Lenox matter, as gif we had taken her motion therin in euell part. We are maist fory that our lettres hes bene sa interpreted, sa far as concernis to our meanyng. For of treuth we had na vthir oppinion of hir in that matter, bot that hir aduertisment cam from a frendly mynd, and was baith worthy of thankis, and to be answerit with the lyk gud will ; as we beleue we did in our lettre, albeit we remember not presently the very wordis or substance therof. For we vse not to referue any copie of our famylier lettres wreten with our awen hand, quhilk now we repent of that lettre ; for gene we had ane copie of it, we mycht now clear our self of

that dout, what wordes they wer therin mycht any wife feam to tend to hir offence. Therefore ye fall prey hir in our name, to let you see P. 61. in her letter what wordis they ar wherof fche conceaues offence; that ye declaring thereupon my part and manyng, may put hir out of any fic fufpition. Treuth it is, at the refait of the letter we wer not a little offendit, and thocht we had gud caufe. It apperit no les then that our nobilite wes fo greuit with our lifcence granted to the Erle of Lenox, that his commyng wes lyk to disturb the quyetnes of our realm. Our brother of Murray and Liddingtoun fchew vnto vs, that they perceaued by her fecretarys lettres, that they wer alfo thocht as parties in this matter; and that they miflyking alfo his commyng, defyred the ftay therof to be procured by tha indicent meanis, wherof they proteftit vnto us the plat contraire. And indeid we haue better proif of ther fidelite towardis ws, then that we can fufpect any fic double dealing in ther handis, they being fa far obliff vnto vs, and fa neir about ws. We thocht vs litle addetted vnto that perfone, whomfoeuer he wes, maid fic report of our fubiectis, that they wald mak ther doleancis till any vther then our felf; fpecially in a matter wherein no man culd be tuiched to his difpleafour.

“Thir and the lyk confiderations mouit vs to a gret choler; quhilk mycht haue bene occafion that we wret the more frelye, and wes not curious to couer our paffions; wreting to hir with whom we efteam vs fa famylier, that fche wald tak all in gud part that proceadis from vs; fpecially that tendis not to hir offence, as trewly never word of that lettre was menit by vs. Therefore ye fall prey hir to put away all fic oppinions, gif fche has conceaut any; and gif ther be any word in our letter hauyng twa fences, by myfconftroyng or taking in

the worst part may geue hir occasion of offence, that sche will rather interpret the same to the gentillest signification, and not cryminallie; and then I dout not bot the haill letter fall appeir to hir, as it wes by vs conceaut and directed; that is, from a dear frend to another.

“Farder of our mynd ye haue conceaut, by that we haid said vnto you be mouth; quhilk ye mon enlarge as occasion requyres.

“Ye may weall, be any vther talk that sche fall minister vnto you, answer conform to the substance of Liddingtons lettres, wreten to my L. Robert and Mester Cicill, to draw on specially another meting of men of credit, fullie instructed with baith our myndis; and to deall fa planly and franckly as all suspitions, driftis and eyleftis may haue ane end.

“Ye mon also inquire diligently of the parlement, at all them that can geue you knowlege therof; for what cause it is callit, what is to be treited in it, how lang it will last; and gif ye may learn any thing to be handled therin tueching vs, ye fall say as of your awen head, that your mestres will not beleue that sche will suffer any thing to be trait-ed therin, that may directly or indirectly tend to our prejudice, we not being by hir foirwarnit therof. Sche knawes that asweill our self as our ministers, whom we haue at any tym directed in tha partis, hes euer dependit vpon hir only aduyse, and folowed the samyn in all pointis; and that sen it was the speciall matter that was moued in the begynnyng of the last parlement, the establisshing of the succeffoun, and lyk anough the subiectis will yet be earnest to be at ane certantie in that point; gif sche omitis sa gud ane occasion to do something for vs, wherby the world may vnderstand that sche vses vs and esteemes vs as hir nyxt cusing and only sister, the world will think that hir amytie is

not sa gret as we tuk it to be ; and them that envyes our familiarité, and wald haue it broken, will conceaue matter to speak that the frendship is rather in wordis then in effect.

“MARIE R.”

P. 62. Being arriuit at Londoun, I tok loging neir the court, quhilk wes at Westmester. Incontinent my host aduertist of my commyng, and that fame nycht hir Maieste sent Maister Lattoun, now gouvernour of the Yll of Weicht, to welcom me in hir name, and to schaw me that the nyxt mornyng sche fuld be in hir garding be aucht houres, to geue me audience; for sche wes aduertist from the Erle of Bedford, gouvernour of Berwik, that I was be the way. That fame nycht, Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun, ane of my auld and dereft frendis be lang acquaintance, first during his baniffement in France in the regne of Quen Marie, and efterwart being ambaffadour in France for this Quen, wher I was for the tym yet very yong, pensioner to the King Henry II., and faruant to the constable his cheif consaillour: This Sir Nycholas was not only my dear frend, wha had procured a pension for me fra his mestres, to help to enterteny me, (when I was willingly baniffit from the court of France, sa lang as ther wes ciuill warres between France and Scotland, during the quhilk tym I remanit in Germany:) The said Sir Nycholas being for the tym at court, cam and souted with me that fame nycht; wha was also a devot frend to the Quen my mestres, and to hir richt and title to the succeffion of the crown of England. Be him I had ample and famylier infourmation, and fur intelligence and frendly aduise, how to proceed with the Quen and euery courteour in particulier; for he wes a gret instrument to

help my L. of Murray and secretary Liddingtoun, to pak vp the first frendfchip and correspondance betwen the twa Quenis, and betwen the Erle of Murray and my L. Robert, and betwen the twa secretares. Albeit he had na lyking for the tym, nother of my L. Robert, nor of Mester Cicill, yet he knew that then nathing culd be done without them. Amang vther thingis, he gaif me aduyfe to vse gret familiarity with the ambaffadour of Spain, in caice I fand the Quen his maistres our hard and difficill; alleging that it wald be a gret spure to moue the Quen of England, to geue our Quen a greter contentement in hir desyres then fche had yet done.

The nyxt mornyng, Maister Lattoun and Mester Randolphe, lait agent for the Quen of England in Scotland, cam to my loging to convoy me to hir Maieste, wha wes as they said alredy in the garding; and with them a seruand of my L. Robertis, with a horfe and futmantill of veluet passmented with gold, for me to ryd vpon; quhilk seruand with the said horfe awaited vpon me all the tym that I remanit ther. I fand her Maieste spacing in ane alley; wher efter that I had kiffit hir hand, and presented my letter of credence, I tald her Maieste in Frenche the effect of my commissioun, as neir to the forsaide instructions as I culd; and sometymes being interrupted be hir demandis, I answerit accordingly. The cause why I spak Frenche was, that I wes bot laitly com hame, and culd not as yet speak my awen langage fa redely. Hir first demand was anent the lettre that the Quen had wreten, with sic dispytfull langage vnto her, that fche beleuit all frendfchip and familiarité had bene geuen vp; quhilk wes cause that fche myndit never to wret again bot another as dispytfull, quhilk fche tok out of hir poutch, for fche had it alredy wreten, to let me see;

P. 63. and said, because s^che thocht it ouer gentill s^che deleyed to send it, vntill s^che had wreten another mair vehement, for answer to the Quenis angry bill. For my part, I apperit to find sic hard interpretation to be maid vpon the Quenis loving and frank dealing, very strange; and how that the Quene culd not remember what wordes they ar wherat s^che conceaues sic offence. Wherupon s^che schew me also the Quenis lettre, quhilk s^che had redy in hir hand to let me see. Quhilk when I had seene, I said I culd find therein na offensyue word, in respect of ther gret famyliarté; alleging that albeit hir Maieste culd speak asgud Frenche as any that had never bene out of the contre, that yet s^che laiketh the vse of the Frenche court language, whilk wes frank and schort, and had oft tymes twa significations, quhilk discreit and famylier frendis tok alwayes in the best part; preing hir to ryue the angerie wretingis quhilk s^che thocht to have send for answer, and in reuenge of the Quenis; and said, that I fuld never let the Quen knaw, that her trew plain meanyng was fa misconstrewed. Alwais at lenth, s^che being desyrous of ane honest colour or excuse, s^che was the easelyer pleasit and satisfied in that point, for the fear s^che had that frendship and correspondance fuld leaw aff; our Quen being the first seaker to renew and continow the sam be sending of me ther, and wald not stand vpon ceremonies with hir eldest sifter. Then in my presens s^che raw all the angrie wretingis and answeres, with promyse of sic frendly and frank dealing in tymes comyng, as all hir gud sifers doingis and proceadingis fuld be interpret to the best.

The harrang that I maid first vnto hir in Frenche is bot schort, as folowes.

“Madame la royne vostre sueure se recommande tres affectueusement a vostre bonne grace, et m’a commande de vous dire qu’elle a estime ces deux moys passees plus qu’un an, pource que durant icelles elle n’a rien entendu de vostre Maieste, pour tousiours continuer l’amytie et bonne intelligence entre vous deux comme au parauant. Pourtant elle delibera me despecher vers vostre Maieste, tant pour vous vesiter de sa parte, et de vous faire entendre de sa sante et bonne prosperite, comme aussy a mon retour de pouvoir faire le semblable raport de vostre Maieste, comme de la personne de ce monde alaquelle, apres foy mesmes, elle souhait plus de felicite et prosperite.

“Sa Maieste m’a aussy commande de vous declairer, que par quelques lettres de Monfieur le Grand a Liddingtoun, elle a peu comprendre que vostre Maieste a trouue quelque chose a reprendre dans la lettre quelle vous a escrit, pour responce a la vostre touchant l’affaire du Conte de Lenox, comme f’elle eut prins vostre admonition en mauuais parte. Sa Maieste fera bien dolent dentendre que ses lettres aurront estees interpretees sy contraires a son intention, voyant quelle ne print autre conception de laduyse de vostre Maieste pour lors que comme procedant dune amyable volunte, incitant se Maieste plustost a vous remercier et respondre gratieusement, comme elle pense auoir fait, que de monstrier aucun sing de mescontentement; sa Maieste ne pouvant foy resouuenir de toutes les termes de sadite lettre, pource quelle nest accoustume de garder aucune copie des lettres quelle escrit famylierement de sa propre main, dequoy elle se repent tresbien a present.”
Being procedit this far sche stayed me, and tok out the lettres abone specified, to schew me as said is.

Now the auld frendship being renewed, sche inquyred gene the

Quen had fend any answer anent the propofition of a mariage maid to hir be Maifter Randolphe. I answerit as I wes instructed, that the Quen thocht litle or nathing therof; bot lukit for the meting of some commiffioners vpon the borders, with my Lord of Murray and the fecretary Liddingtoun, to confer and trait vpon all fic matters of greteft importance, as mycht concern the quyetnes of baith the contrees, and contentement of baith the Quenismyndis. "Sa feing that your Maiefteis cannot fafchone find the opportunitie of meting, famekle defyred betwen your felues, quhilk is not expedient nether vntill all vther doutis and defyres be firft maid clear, be your maift trusty and famylier confellours; the Quen my meftres, as I have faid, is myndit to fend for hir part, my L. of Murray and the fecretary Liddingtoun, and is in hope that your Maiefte will fend my Lordis of Bedford and my L. Robert Dudley." Sche faid, that it apperit I maid bot fmall accompt of my L. Robert, feing that I named the Erle of Bedford before him; bot or it wer lang, fche fuld mak hym a greter erle, and that I fuld fe it done before my returnyng hame; for fche eftemed him as hir brother and beft frend, whom fche fuld haue married hir felf, gif euer fche had bene myndit till tak a husband. Bot being determinit to end hir lyf in virginite, fche wiffit that the Quen hir fifter fuld marry him, as meteft of all vther; and with whom fche mycht find in hir hart to declaire the Quen fecond perfon, rather then with any vther. For being matched with hym, it wald beft remove out of hir mynd, all fear and fufpicion to be offendit be vfurpation before hir death; being affured that he was fa loving and trusty, that he wald never geue his confent, nor fuffer fic thing to be enterpryfed during hir tym. And to caufe the Quen my meftres to think the mair of him, I was requyred to ftay

till I had seane him maid Erle of Leycester, and Barron of Denbich, with gret solemnite at Westmester; hir self helping to put on his ceremoniall, he sitting vpon his knees before hir, keping a gret grauite and discret behauour; bot sche culd not refrain from putting hir hand in his nek to kittle him snylingly, the Frenche ambassadour and I standing besyd hir. Then sche asked at me how I lyked of him. I said, as he was a worthy subiect, he was happy that had rencontrit a princes that culd discern and reward gud seruice. "Yet," sche said, "ye lyk better of yonder lang lad;" pointing towardis my Lord Darley, wha as nereft prince of the bluid bure the sward of honour that day before hir. My answer again wes, that na woman of spirit wald mak choise of sic a man, that was lyker a woman than a man; for he wes very lusty, berdles and lady facit. I had na will that sche fuld think that I lyked of him, or had any ey or deling that way; albeit I had a secret charge to deall with his mother my Lady Lenox, to purches leawe for him to pass in Scotland, wher his father was alredy, that he mycht se the contre, and convoy the Erle his father bak again to England.

Now the said Quen was determinit to trait with the Quen my fouerane, first anent hir mariage with the Erle of Leycester, and for that effect promysed to send commiffioners vnto the borders. In the mean tyme, I was fauorably and famylierly vsed; for during nyn dayes that I remanit at that court, hir Maieste plefit to confer with me euery day, and somtymes thrys vpon a day, to wit a foir nun, efter nun and efter supper. Sometymes sche wald say, that sen sche culd not meit
P. 65. with the Quen her gud sifter hir self, to confer familierly with hir, that sche fuld open a gud part of hir inwart mynd vnto me, that I mycht

ſchaw it again vnto the Quen; and ſaid that ſche was not ſo offendit at the Quenis angry lettre, as for that ſche ſeamed to diſdain ſo far the mariage with my L. of Leycifter, quhilk ſche had cauſed Meſter Randolphe propon vnto hir. I ſaid that it mycht be he had tuechit ſomething therof to my L. of Murrey and Liddington, bot that he had not proponit the matter directly vnto hir ſelf; and that aſweill hir Maieſte, as they that wer hir maiſt famylier confellouris, culd conjectour na thing thervpon bot delayes and drifting of tym, anent the declaring of hir to be ſecond perſoune; quhilk wald try at the meating of the commiſſioners abone ſpecified. Sche ſaid again, that the tryall and declairation therof wald be haifted fordwart, according to the Quenis gud behauoir, and applying to hir pleaſour and aduylſe in hir mariage; and ſeing the matter concernyng the ſaid declairation wes ſo weichty, ſche had ordonit ſome of the beſt lawers in England, diligently to ſearch out wha had the beſt rycht; quhilk ſche wald wiſe ſuld be hir dear ſiſter rather than any vther. I ſaid I was affured that hir Maieſte wes baith out of dout therof, and wald rather ſche ſuld be declarit then any vther; bot I lamented that euen the wyfeſt princes will not ſkance ſufficiently vpon the parcialites and pretences of ſome of ther famylier conſeillouris and ſeruandis; except it wer ſic a notable and rare prince as K. Hary the 8., hir Maieſteis father of gud memore, wha of his awen head was determinit to declair his ſiſter ſone K. James the 5., (at what tym hir Maieſte was not yet born, bot only hir ſiſter Quen Mary,) hayr apparant to the crown of England, failgeing the aires gottin of his awen body, for the ernest deſyre he had till vnit this haill ylland. Sche ſaid, ſche was glaid he did it not. I ſaid that then he had bot a dochter, and was in dout to haue any ma children, and yet had not ſo many ſuſpitions in

his head; and that hir Maieſte wes out of all dout euer till haue any childrene, as being deliberat to dy a virgen. Sche ſaid that ſche was never myndit to mary, except ſche wer compellit be the Quen hir fiſters hard behauour towardis hir, in doing by hir conſaill as ſaid is. I ſaid, “Madam, ye ned not to tell me that; I knaw your ſtaitly ſtomak: Ye think gene ye wer married, ye wald be bot Quen of England, and now ye ar King and Quen baith; ye may not ſuffer a commander.”

Sche apperit to be ſa effectiōnit to the Quen hir gud fiſter, that ſche had a gret deſyre to ſe hir; and becauſe ther deſyred meting culd not be ſa haiftely brocht till paſſe, ſche delyted oft to luk vpon hir picture, and tok me in to hir bed chamber, and oppenit a litle lettoun wherin wer dyuers litle pictures wrapped within paiper, and wreten vpon the paiper, ther names with hir awen hand. Vpon the fiſt that ſche tok vp was wreten, “My lordis picture.” I held the candell and preſſit to ſe my lordis picture. Albeit ſche was laith to let me ſe it, at lenth I be importunite obteanit the ſicht therof, and aſkit the ſame to cary hame with me vnto the Quen; quhilk ſche reſuſed, alleging ſche had bot that ane of his. I ſaid again, that ſche had the principall; for he was at the fartheſt part of the chamber ſpeaking with the ſecretary Cicill. Then ſche tok out the Quenis picture and kiſſit it; P.66. and I kiſſit hir hand, for the gret loue I ſaw ſche bure to the Quen. Sche ſchew me alſo a fair ruby, gret lyk a racket ball. Then I deſyred that ſche wald eyther ſend it as a token vnto the Quen, or elis my Lord of Leceſters picture. Sche ſaid, gene the Quen wald folow hir conſaill, that ſche wald get them baith with tym, and all that ſche had; bot ſuld ſend hir a dyamont for a token with me. Now it was lait efter ſupper; ſche appointed me to be at hir the nyxt mornyng be

8. houres, at quhilk tym fche vfed to walk in hir garden; and inquyred fundre things at me of this contre, or vther contrees wherin I had laitly trauelit; and caufed me to eat with hir dame of honour, my lady Stafford, ane honorable and godly lady, wha had bene at Geneva, baniffit during the regne of Quen Mary, that I mycht be alwayes neir hir Maiefte, that fche mycht conferr with me; and my lady Staffordis dochter was my meftres, for I was of ther acquaintance when they paffit throw France, and had gud intelligence be hir and be my lady Throgmortoun.

At dyuers metingis ther wald be dyuers purpofes; and the Quen my fouerane had instructed me fomtymes to leau matters of grauite, and caft in fome purpofes of mirrines, or elis I wald be tyred vpon, as being weill infourmed of hir fifters naturell. Therefore in declaring the cuftomes of Dutchland, Polle and Italy, the bufking and clothing of the dames and wemen was not forget, and what contrey weid was beft fetten for gentilwemen to wair. The Quen of England faid fche had of dyuers fortis; quhilkis euery day fa lang as I was ther fche chengit; ane day the Englifch weid, ane the Frenche, and ane the Ytalien, and fa of others; asking at me quhilk of them fet hir beft. I faid the Italien weid; quhilk plefit hir weill, for fche delyted to fchaw her golden coloured hair, wairing a kell and bonet as they do in Italy. Hir hair was reder then zellow, curlit apparantly of nature. Then fche entrit to dicern what kind of coulour of hair was reputed beft; and inquyred whither the Quenis or hers was beft, and quhilk of them twa was faireft. I faid, the fairnes of them baith was not ther worft faltes. Bot fche was ernest with me to declaire quhilk of them I thocht faireft. I faid, fche was the faireft Quen in England, and ours

the fairest Quen in Scotland. Yet sche was ernesft. I said, they wer baith the fairest ladyes of ther courtes, and that the Quen of England was whytter, bot our Quen was very lufome. Sche inquyred quhilk of them was of hyest stature. I said, our Quen. Then sche said, the Quen was ouer heych, and that hir self was nother ouer hich nor ouer laich. Then sche askit what kynd of exercyses sche vfed. I said, that I was dispatchit out of Scotland, that the Quen was bot new com bak from the hyland hunting; and when sche had leafer fra the affaires of hir contre, sche red vpon gud bukis, the histories of dyuers contrees, and somtymes wald play vpon lut and virginelis. Sche spirit gene sche plaid weill. I said, raifonably for a Quen.

That same day efter dener, my L. of Hundfden drew me vp till a quyet gallerie that I mycht heir some musik, bot he said he durst not advow it, wher I mycht heir the Quen play vpon the virginelis. Bot efter I had harkenit a whyll, I tok by the tapifferie that hang before the dur of the chamber, and feing hir bak was toward the dur, I entrit within the chamber and stod still at the dur chek, and hard hir play excellently weill; bot sche left aff sa schone as sche turnit hir about and saw me, and cam forwartis femyng to ftryk me with hir left hand, and to think schame; alleging that sche vfed not to play before men, bot when sche was folitary hir allaine, till eschew melancholy; and askit how I cam ther. I said, as I was walken with my L. of Hundfden, as we past by the chamber dur, I hard sic melodie, quhilk rauyft and drew me within the chamber I wist not how; excusing my falt of hamelynes, as being brocht vp in the court of France, and was now willing to suffer what kynd of puniffement wald pleife hir lay vpon me for my offence. Then sche fat down laich vpon a

kuffchen, and I vpon my knee befyd hir; bot fche gaif me a kuffchen with hir awen hand to lay vnder my kne, quhilk I refused, bot fche compellit me; and callit for my lady Stafford out of the nyxt chamber, for fche was hir allain ther. Then fche asked whither the Quen or fche played beft. In that I gaif hir the prayfe. Sche faid my Frenche was gud; and fperit gif I culd fpeak Italen, quhilk fche fpak raifonable weill. I faid, I taried not abone tua monethes in Italy, and had brocht with me fome bukis to reid vpon; bot had na leafer to learn the langage perfytly. Then fche fpak to me in Dutche, bot it was not gud; and wald wit what kynd of bukis I lyked beft, whither of theologie, hiftory, or loue matters. I faid, I lyked weill of all the fortis.

I was ernest to be difpetchit; bot fche faid that I tyred fchoner of hir company nor fche did of myn. I faid, albeit I had na occafion ty tyre, that it was tyme to retourn; bot I was ftayed twa dayes langer till I mycht fe hir dance, as I was infourmed; quhilk being done, fche inquyred at me whither fche or the Quen dancit beft. I faid, the Quen dancit not fa hich and difpofedly as fche did. Then again fche wiffit that fche mycht fe the Quen, at fome convenient place of meat- ing. I offerit to convoy hir fecretly in Scotland be poift, clothed lyk a paige difgyfed, that fche mycht fe the Quen; as K. James the 5. paff in France difgyfed, with his awen ambaffadour, to fe the Duc of Vendomes fifter that fuld haue bene his wyf; and how that hir chamber fuld be kepit as thoch fche wer feak, in the mean tyme, and nane to be preuy therto bot my lady Stafford, and ane of the grumes of hir chamber. Sche faid, Alace! gene fche mycht do it; and feamed to lyk weill of fic kynd of langage, and vfed all the meanis fche culd to caufe me perfuad the Quen of the gret loue that fche bure vnto hir, and was

myndit to put away all geleufies and fufpitions, and in tymes comyng a ftraiter frendfchip to ftand betwen them then euer had bene of before; and promyfed that my difpafche fuld be delyuerit vnto me very fchortly, be Mefter Cicill at Londoun. For now fche was pafte till Hamton court, wher fche gaif me my anfwer be mouth hir felf, and hir fecretary be wret.

The nyxt day my L. of Leycifter defyred me to faill in his barge down the watter of Tames to Londoun, quhilk wes ten myles from Hamtoncourt. He had in his company, his gud brother Sir Harry Sidney deputy of Yreland. Be the way my faid L. entrit with me famylierly, alleging that he wes weill acquainted with my L. of Murray, Liddingtoun and my brother Sir Robert; and that he was alfo fa weill acquainted with me be report, that he durft be fa hamly as to requyre, that I wald fchaw him what the Quen my meftres thocht of him, and of the mariage that Mefter Randolphe had proponit. Wherunto I anfwerit very cauldly, as I was be the Quen commandit. Then he began to purge himfelf of fa proud a pretence as to mary fa gret a Quen, eftemyng him felf not worthy to deicht hir fchone; alleging the invention of that propofition to haue proceadit of Mefter Cicill his fecret ennemy. "For gif I fuld," faid he, "haue feamed to defyre that mariage, I fuld haue tint the fauour of baith the Quenis;" preing me till excufe him vnto the Quen, that it wald plefe hir Maiefte not to imput vnto him that lourd falt, bot vnto the malice of his ennemys.

Landing at Londoun, our denner was prepared be the Erle of Penburg; wha being gret maifter, yet humbled him fa far as to ferve the faid table, as mefter houfehald him felf; and fchew him felf to be a

deuot frend to the Quene anent hir title. That efter dinner, I tok my leawe at the Frenche ambaffadour, with dyuer aduertifmentis from him, and from the Spanifch ambaffadour. My L. of Leycefter fend alfo wretengis with me to my L. of Murray, till excufe him at the Quenis hand.

The day apponted, I gat my despafche fra fecretary Cicill, together with a lettre of credit and a mair ample declaration of the Quenismynd, tueching the fame anfwers that fche had maid vnto me hir felf. He gaif me alfo a wreting to the fecretary Liddingtoun; for as I haue faid, my L. of Lecifter, and he my Lord of Murray and the fecretary Liddingtoun, reuled baith the Quenis, and kepit correfpondance together as yet.

When I tok my leawe, the fecretary Cicill convoyed me throw the clofe to the vtter get of his palice, fa I may call it, efter he had put a faire cheigne about my nek hym felf. My Lady Lenox and Sir Nycholas Throgmorton fend many gud aduyces to the Quen, to be folowed fourth according to the tym and occafions. My Lady Lenox fend alfo takens to the Quen, a ring with a fair dyemont; ane emeraud to my L. hir hufband, wha was yet in Scotland; a dyamont to my L. of Murray; ane orlege or montre fet with dyamontis and rubis, to the fecretary Liddingtoun; a ring with a ruby to my brother Sir Robert; for fche was still in gud hope, that hir fone my Lord Darley fuld com better fpeid then the Erle of Leycefter, anent the mariage with the Quen. Sche was a very wyfe and difcret matroun, and had many fauorers in England for the tym.

At my hamecommynge, I fand the Quenis Maiefte ftill in Edinbrough; to whom I declaired the maner of my proceeding with the Quen of

England, and hir answer to the speciall headis of my instructions in wret.

Hir Maieſte answerit to the first; That wheras the Quen thocht the tym very lang ſen ſche refauit other word or wret fra hir, wherby ſche mycht vnderſtand of her gud eſtait, and had ſend me ther to veſit hir in hir behalf; That ſche thocht the tym aſlang, albeit ſche had conceaued ſome greif anent the angry lettre; quhilk was the greter, in reſpect it apperit that ſche diſdanit the offer of the beſt gud ſche had till geue, to wit the man whom ſche eſtemed as hir brother. And wheras ſche had ſend me to veſit hir, ſche was mair content with my commyng then ſche wald haue bene of any vther; being of hir gud acquaintance, with whom ſche mycht famylierly declair hir inwart mynd vnto the Quen my maiſtres, ſeing ſche culd not meit with hir
P.69. (ſa ſchon as ſche deſyrit) hir ſelf; as I mycht declair, how famylierly ſche had conferrit with me all hir inwart greifis and deſyres, and how weill ſche was ſatiſfied, and how willing till continow all gud offices of amytie; and ſuld for that effect ſend ſchortly down to the borders, commiſſioners that wer named be hir ſelf, to meit with my L. of Murray and Liddingtoun.

As for the Parlement, it wes yet in dout whither it held or not. Gene it held, the Quen ſuld get na hurt in hir richt, nother directly nor indirectly, bot ſuld be alwayes fairwarnit in dew tym.

Then I ſchew hir Maieſte at lenth, of all vther purpoſes that fell out be occaſion betwen hir and me; together with the oppinions and aduertifmentis of dyuers of hir frendis in England, aſweill catholikis as proteſtantis; and from the ambaffadour of Spain, of the K. his maſters gud will towardis hir Maieſte; and lyk wayes of Don Carle the

prince, albeit that he was for the tym in some suspition with his father ; wherby the purpose of mariage wald apperantly tak some delay, vntill matters mycht fram better betwen the father and the sonne ; assuring hir Maieste of his awen perticulair seruice and futherance at his power, and suld from tym to tym mak hir intelligence.

Hir Maieste was very glaid that matters wer brocht again in sa gud termes, as that famylier dealing mycht continew betwen hir and the Quen of England ; wherby sche mycht haue acces to get intelligence fra a gret number of noble men and vthers, hir frendis and factioners in England ; and because sche fearit also to get the wyet of ther discord, gif it had continowed.

Efter that hir Maieste had vnderstand at gret lenth, all my handling and proceadingis in England, sche inquyrit whether I thocht that Quen menit trewly towardis hir asweill inwartly in hir hart, as sche apperit to do outwardly be hir speach. I said, in my judgement, that ther was nather plain dealing nor vprycht meanyng, bot gret diffimulation, emulation, and fear that hir princely qualites suld ouerschone, chaife hir out, and displace hir from the kingdome ; as having alredy hendrit hir mariage with the Archeduc Charles of Auftria, and now offering vnto hir my L. of Leycester, whom sche wald be laith as then to want. Then the Quen gaif me hir hand, that sche suld never mary the said new maid erle ; albeit schortly whyll efter, my L. of Murray and Bedford met besyd Berwik to trait vpon the mariage with Leycester, with slenderer offers and les effectuell dealing then was loked for. Bot the said Erle of Leycester had wreten sa discret and wyse lettres vnto my L. of Murray, for his excuses, that the Quen apperit to haue sa gud lyking of him, as that the Quen of England began to fear and suspect that the said mariage

mycht perchance tak effect. And therefore my L. Darley obteanit the rather licence to com in Scotland, wha was a lusty youth, in hope that he fuld preuail being present, before Leycester that was absent. Quhilk licence was obteanit be the meanis of the secretary Cicill; not that he was myndit that any of the mariages fuld tak effect, bot with sic schiftis and pratikes to hald the Quen on married sa lang as he culd. For he perswadit him self, that my L. Darley durst not pass fordwart without the consent of the Quen of England to the said mariage; his land lying in England, and his mother remanyng ther. Sa he thocht it lay in the Quen his mistres awen hand, to let the mariage go fordwart, or to stey the same at hir plesour; and incaice my L. Darley wald disobey the Quen of Englandis charge, to com bak at hir ca, intendit to forfault him, wherby he fuld loise all his landis richtis and titles that he had in England.

- P.70. The Quenis Maieste, as I haue said, efter hir returnyng out of France to Scotland, behaued hir self sa princely, sa honourably and discretly, that hir reputation spred in all contrees; and was determynit and also inclynit to continow in that kynd of comelynes, vnto the end of hir lyf; desyring to hald nane in hir company bot sic as wer of the best qualitez and conuersation, abhorring all vices and vitious personnes, whither they wer men or women; and requested me to assist hir in geuyng hir my gud counsaill, how sche mycht vse the meatest meanis till aduance hir honest intention; and incaice sche, being yet yong, mycht forget hir self in any vnseamly gestour or misbehauour, that I wald warn hir therof, with my admonition to forbear and reform the same. Quhilk commissioun I refused altogether, saying that hir verteous actions, hir naturell judgement, and gret experience sche had learnit in the company

of ſa many notable prencis in the court of France, had inſtructed hir ſa weill and maid hir ſa able as to be ane exemplar to all hir ſubiectis and ſeruandis. Bot ſche wald not leaue it ſa, bot ſaid ſche knew that ſche had committed dyuers errours, vpon na euell menyng, for lek of the admonition of loving frendis; becauſe that the maiſt part of courteouris commonly flatteris princes to won ther fauour, and will not tell them the verite, fearing to tyn ther fauour; and therefore adjured me, and commandit me to accept that charge; quhilk I ſaid was a ruynous commiſſion, willing hir to lay that bourthen vpon hir brother my Lord of Murray and the ſecretary Liddingtoun; bot ſche ſaid that ſche wald not tak it in ſa gud a part of them as of me. I ſaid, I fearit that it wald cauſe me with tym tyn hir fauour; bot ſche ſaid, it apperit I had ane euell oppinion of hir conſtancy and diſcretion, quhilk oppinion ſche doubted not bot I wald alter efter that I had eſſayed the occupation of that frendly and famylier charge. In the mean tym, ſche maid me famylier till all hir maiſt vrgent affaires; bot chiefly in hir dealing with any forren nation, ſche ſchew unto me all her lettres, and them that ſche reſauit fra vther princes; and willit me to wret vnto ſic princes as I had acquaintance of, and to ſome of ther counſellours; wherin I forget not to ſet out hir vertus, and wald ſchaw hir again ther anſwers, and ſic occurrences as poſted for the tym betwen contrees, to hir gret contentement. For ſche was of a quyk ſpirit, and curious to knaw and to get intelligence of the eſtate of vther contrees; and wald be ſometimes ſad when ſche was ſolitary, and glaid of the company of them that had traueled in vther partis.

Now ther cam heir in company with the ambaffadour of Scauoy, ane Dauld Ricio, of the contre of Piedmont, that was a merry fallow and a

gud mucitien ; and hir Maieſte had thre varletis of hir chamber that ſang thre partis, and wanted a beifs to ſing the fourt part ; therfor they tald hir Maieſte of this man to be ther fourt marrow, in ſort that he was drawen in to ſing ſomtymes with the reſt ; and eftirwart when the ambaffadour his maifter retournit, he ſtayed in this contre, and wes retiret in hir Maieſtes ſeruice as ane varlet of hir chamber. And efterwart when hir French ſecretary retired him ſelf till France, this Daudid obtenit the ſaid office, and therby entrit in greter credit, and occupied

P.71. hir Maieſteis ear of tymes in preſens of the nobilite, and when ther was greteſt conventions of the eſtatis ; quhilk maid him to be ſa invyed and hatted, cheifly when he grew ſa gret that he preſented all ſignatours to be ſubſcryuit be hir Maieſte, that ſome of the nobilite wald glowm vpon him, and ſome of them wald ſchulder him and ſchut hym by, when they entrit in the chamber, and fand him alwaiſ ſpeaking with hir Maieſte. And ſome again that had hard turnis to be helpit, new infeſtmentis to be tane, or that deſyred to preuail againſt ther ennemis in court or ſeſſion, addreſſit them vnto him, and dependit vpon hym ; wherby in ſchort tym he becam very rich. Not without ſome fear, therefore, he lamented his eſtait vnto me, and aſkit my conſaill, how to behaue hym ſelf. I tald him, that ſtrangers wer commonly envyed when they medlit ouer far in the affaires of forren contrees. He ſaid, he being ſecretary to hir Maieſte in the Frenche tung, had occaſion therby till occupy hir Maieſteis ear, as hir formair ſecretary vſed to do. I ſaid again, that it wes thocht that the maiſt part of the affaires of the contre paſt throw his handis ; and aduyſit him, when the nobilite wer preſent, to gif them place, and prey the Quenis Maieſte to be content therwith ; and ſchew him, for ane example, how I

had bene in sa gret fauour with the Electour Palatin, that he caused set me at his awen table, and the burd being drawen, used to confer with me in presens of his haill court; wherat dyuers of them tok gret indignation against me; quhilk sa schone as I persauit, I requested him to let me sit from his awen table, with the rest of his gentilmen, and na mair to conferre with me in ther presens, bot to fend a paige for me, any tym that he had leafer, till com to hym in his chamber; quhilk I obteanit, and that way maid my master not to be hated, nor my self to be invyed; and willit him to do the lyk. Quhilk he did, and said vnto me efterwart, that the Quen wald not suffer him, bot wald nedis haue him to vse him self in the auld maner. I answerit, that I was fory for the inconuenientis that mycht ensue therupon; and efterwart, seing the invy against the said Daid till increase, and that be his wreke hir Maieste mycht incure displefour, I remembrit vpon hir Maiesteis commandement, till foirwarn and admonish hir of all apperant eylestis that mycht chance to fall out, as I had done dyuers tymes of before, (quhilk was gratiouly reformed and redrest be hir Maieste.) Now I tok occasion lykwayes to enter with hir Maieste, and in maist humble maner schew her what aduyse I had geuen unto Seigneur Daid, as is abone specified. Hir Maieste said, that he medlit na farther bot in hir French wretings and affaires, as hir vther Frenche secretary had done of before; and said, that wha euer fand falt therwith, sche wald not leawe to do hir ordinary directions. I remembrit hir Maieste what displefour sche had tane of before, for the rasche misbehaviour of a Frenche gentilman callit Chattellier, transported be hir affabilite; and lykways of the Erle of Arran for the same cause; not douting bot hir Maiesteis graue and comely behauour towardis sic stran-

gers, and transportit leicht perfones, wald bring them in a mair deuti-
full reuerence to hir honour, and the contentement of hir subiectis.
Sche thankit me for my continuell cair, and promyfed to tak sic gud
ordour ther intill as the cause requyred.

P.72. I haue said alredy, how that my Lord Darley was aduyfed to fut
lifcence to com in Scotland; wha at his first commyng fand the Quen
in the Wemes, makand hir progress throw Fyfe. Hir Maieſte tok weill
with him, and said that he was the luſtieſt and beſt proportionit lang
man that ſche had ſean; for he was of a heich ſtature, lang and ſmall,
euen and brent vp; weill inſtructed from his youth in all honeſt and
comely exercyſes. And eftir he had hanted a quhill in court, he pro-
ponit mariage to hir Maieſte; quhilk ſche tok in ane euell part at the
firſt, as ſche tald me that ſame day hir ſelf; and how ſche had refuſed
the ring quhilk he then offerit vnto hir. Wher I tok occaſion, as I had
begun, to ſpeak in his fauour, that ther mariage wald put out of dout
ther title to the ſucceſſion. I can not tell how he fell in acquaintance
with ſeignieur Daud, bot he alſo was his gret frend at the Quenis
hand; ſa that hir Maieſte tok ay the langer the better lyking of him,
and at lenth determinit to mary him. Quhilk being knawen vnto the
Quen of England, ſche ſend and chargit him to return; and alſo ſend
hir ambaffadour Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun in Scotland, baith to dif-
fuad the Quen to mary him, and incaice the Quen wald not folow hir
advyſe in hir mariage, to perſwad the lordis and ſa many as wer of
hir religion, to withſtand the ſaid mariage, onles the ſaid Lord Darley
wald promiſe and ſubſcryve to abyd at the religion reſourmed, quhilk
ha had planly profeſſit in England. The Quen again perſauing the
Quen of Englandis erneſt opoſition till all the mariages that wer of

ferit vnto hir, thocht not meit to delay any langer hir mariage. Bot my L. Duc of Chattelerault, my Lordis of Argyll, Murrey, Glencarn, Rothes, and dyuers vthers lordis and barrons, withstod the said mariage; wha efter that they had maid a mynt to tak the Lord Darley, in the Quenis company, at the raid of Baith, and to haue send him in England as they allegit, I wot not what was in ther mynd, bot it was ane euel fauorit enterpryse, wherintill the Quen was in danger other of keping, or hart breking; and as they that had failed of ther fulishe enterpryse, tok on planly ther armes of rebellion. Hir Maieste again conuenit forces till persew them, and chacit them heir and ther, till at lenth they wer compellit to fle in England for refuge, to hir that had promysed be hir ambassadours to wair hir crown in ther defence, incaice they wer dryuen till any strait for ther opposition vnto the said mariage. Quhilk was all denyed at ther commyng to seak help; and when they send vp my L. of Murray to that Quen, the rest abyding at Newcastell, he culd obtean nathing but disdain and scorn; till at lenth he, and the Abbot of Kilwynning his compaignon in that message, wer perswadit to com and confess vnto the Quen vpon ther knees, and that in presens of the ambassadours of France and Spain, that hir Maieste had neuer moued them to that opposition and resistance against ther Quenis mariage. For this sche had desyred, to satisfie the saidis ambassadours, wha baith allegit in ther maisters names, that sche was cause of the said rebellion, and that hir only delyt was to steir vp discention amang all hir nybours, not without cause; yet in this allegiance sche ouer cam them; for sche handlit the matter sa subtilie, and

P. 73. the vther twa sa blaitly, in granting vnfuthfastly hir desyre, vpon hir faire promyse, that sche tryumphed ouer the saidis ambassadours, for

ther allegence. But vnto my L. of Murray and his marrow sche said, "Now ye haue tald the treuth; for I nor nane in my name sterit you vp against your Quen; for your abominable trefoun mycht serue for exemple, to moue my awen subiectis to rebell against me. Therefore pak you out of my presens; ye ar bot vnworthy traitours." This was all ther meritorious reward; and wer not the mair moyen was maid be some in England that pitied them, they had not bene sufferit to remain within hir dominions during ther baniffement. Howbeit sche had promysed of new again to assist and help them to the vttermaist of hir power, with condition that they wald pleise hir sa far as to sit doun vpon ther knees, in presens of the saidis ambassadours, and mak the foirsaid fals confession. As for secret help, sche maid them nane; only they obteanit a small contribution of a thre thowfsand poundis Scotis, amang some of ther awen religion ther, wha had born them gud will of before; quhilk wes distribut amang the rest of the baniffit lordis, wher they remanit altogither at Newcastle, comfortles and in gret miserie.

I haue declairit, that asweill the confell of Englandis courtly dealing schifting and drifting, be staving the Quen sa far as they mycht fra marieing with any man, far or neir, gret or small, caused the Quen to haist fordwart hir mariage with my L. Darley; quhilk was solemnisit in the palice of Halyrodhouse, within the Quenis chapell, at the mess; wherin seigneur Daud was na small instrument, as said is.

Then Scotland being almaiist hailely at the reformed religion, tok a dislyking of the K. because, as was allegit, he had planly professit the same religion before in England. Then inventions and bruitis wer raised, how that the said seigneur Daud had a pension of the Paip;

and having baith Quen and K. of his oppinion, mycht the rather and eafeyler attempt with tym, to plant again in Scotland the Roman Catholik religion. And euen in tha dayes, the Paip fend the foun of 8000 crownis to be delyuerit to the Quen; bot the fchip wherein the faid gold was, brak vpon the coift of England within the Erle of Northomberlandis boundis. Wha allegit the haill to appertean vnto him be juft law; quhilk he caufed his aduocat red vnto me, (when I was directed to him for the faid filuer,) in the auld Normand langage, quhilk nother he nor I vnderftod weill, it was fa corrupt. Bot he wald geue na part therof to the Quen, albeit he was a catholik him felf, and vtherwayes profellit fecretly to be hir frend.

After that the Quenis Maieftie had married my L. Darley, fche did him gret honour hir felf, and willit euery ane that wald deferue hir fauour till do the lyk, and to await vpon him; fa that he was weill accompanied, and fic as futed him and be him, for a whill, cam beft fpeid of ther errandis. And becaufe he married by the aduyfe of the Quen of England, my Lady Lenox his mother was commitit til be wardit in the tour of Londoun, wher fche remanit lang.

All this whyll I attendit ftill vpon the Quen, with les famylierite then I had of before; lykways the fecretary Liddingtoun was in fufpition, as a fauorer of my L. of Murrey. I feing my feruice for the tym na mair nedfull, humilly procured lifcence at the Quen to return till France, and vther partis wher I had fpendit the half of my tym; P. 74. bot hir Maieftie wald not grant that I fuld leaue hir, meruelen what mycht moue me. I faid that the tym was full of fufpitions, and that I was affured to do hir Maieftie better feruice in any vther contre then heir at hame, as matters had fallen out. Sche faid, that I culd do hir

afgud feruice heir at hame as any that feruit hir, gif I plefit ; bot that I had left af to tell hir my oppinion anent hir proceedingis. I faid, that I fearit that my oppinionis mycht chance to be vnplaisant vnto hir Maieſte; bot ſche affirmed the contrair, and faid that I had ennemys that did what they culd to put me in ſuſpition with the K., as being a fauorer of my L. of Murrey; quhilk ſche had put out of the Kingis head, as being better acquainted with my natur and conditions; ſaying that ſche knew weill that I had a lyking of my L. of Murrey, bot not of his maner of doing, and that ſche was affured that I loued hir ten tymes better nor him; and faid mair ouer, that gif aſmekle euell wer ſpoken of hir to me, as was of me till hir, that ſche wald wiſe that I ſuld geue them na mair credit againſt hir, then ſche did or ſuld do againſt me; and gaif me hir conſaill to await vpon the King, wha was bot yet yong, and to geue him and hir my gud aduyſe, as I was wont to do, that mycht help hir till eſchew all apperant inconvenientis; and gaif me hir hand, that ſche ſuld tak all in a gud part what euer I ſpak, as proceeding of a loving and faithfull ſeruand; willing me alſo to be frend vnto ſeigneur Dauid, wha was haited without cauſe. The K. alſo tald me, what they wer that had ſpoken in my contraire; and faid, that they wer knawen to be ſic commown liers as ther tong was na flander. Be this meanis the Quenis Maieſte obligit me, ay mair and mair, to be cairfull for the weill of hir ſeruice; and to tak occaſion of new to geue hir Maieſte my oppinion, to mak hir proffit be the miſhandling of the Erle of Murrey and his affociatis in England, be that Quenis vncourtes dealing with him before the twa ſpecified ambaffadours, and had broken all hir faire promyſes unto him and them.

First I ſchew vnto hir Maieſte, how that euer ſen hir return in hir

awen contre, fche had findre tymes effayed to get hir nobilite and haill fubiectis entierly and foundly affected, to tak plaine part with hir in all actions whatfomeuer; and chiefly againft England, incaice fche mycht haue occaſion till employ them; quhilk fche culd not as yet obtean, becauſe of the ſecret band and promyſe wes maid amang them, the tym when the Engliſ army cam in at Leith, to help to put the Frenche men out of Scotland.

“Now,” ſaid I, “the occaſion is offerit, wherby your Maieſte may bring your deſyred intention till paſs, gif ye culd find in your hart, other till pardon my L. of Murray and his affociatis, or elis till prolong the parlement wherin they ar to be forfeited, vntill your Maieſte may aduſe and ſe what proffit may be drawen, other be ther forfeiting, or be putting them in hope of grace with tym, according as they may make
P. 75. cauſe in folowing and obſeruyng ſic reules and direCTIONS as ſhalbe ſet doun vnto them be your Maieſte,” To this fche anſwerit, that now when they mycht not do na better they ſocht hir; bot when fche ſocht ther concurrence, as ſubiectis vnto ther natywe prince, they wald not heir hir; na mair wald fche now heir ther futtis. I ſaid, when ſoeuer they ſuld mak ther futtis, it ſuld not be by me; bot this I propone of my ſelf to your Maieſte, wha can chuſe the beſt and leave the worſt in all accidentis. Sen it is na litle matter to won the haill hartis of all your ſubiectis, and alſo of a gud number in England that fauours them and ther religion; wha wald admyre ſic princely vertus, as to ſe your Maieſte to reull ouer your awen paſſions and affections, and thereby think you maiſt worthy to regne ouer kyngdomes; redy to forgeue, and laith to uſe vengeance cheifly againſt ſubiectis alreedy vincuſt, and not worthy of your wraith, and wha ar now ſa willing to be

reuengit vpon your greteft aduerfary. Sa that clemency at fic a tym will be found maift convenient, and the part of juftice callit equite mair proffitable than rygour; for extremitie bringis on oft tymes difpaired enterpryfes. At this hir Maiefte entrit in choler, faying, “ I deffy them. What dow they to do, and what dar they do?” I faid, “ Madame, with your Maieftis pardone, my propofition is bot folowing your Maieftis commandement, to fchaw you my oppinion and aperances at all occafions, for the weill of your feruice.” Then fche faid, that fche thankit me for the fame, and granted that it was a gud aduyfe and neceffary to be done; and that yet fche culd not find in hir hart to haue ado with any of them, for dyuers refpectis; preing me not to leawe aff fra geuyng hir my continowell aduyfe, at all fic occafions; for howbeit fche mycht not folow this, fche mycht perchance do better another tym. I faid, that many noblemen being baniffit, and fa neir hand as the Newcaftell, having many vther noblemen heir at hame of ther kin and frendis, fa mall content as I knew them to be for the tym, with fic vnhappy bruitis whereof fche was not yngnorant, caufed me to fear fome attemptat till ane alteration; for I faid I had hard weyd fpeeches, that we wald heir newes or the parlement was endit. Hir Maiefte fayed, that fche had alfo fome aduertifmentis of the lyk bruitis, bot that our contre men wer weill wordy. Efter that I had bene this way in hand with hir Maiefte, I entrit with f^r Dauid in the fame maner; for then he and I wer vnder gud frendfchip. Bot he difdanit all danger, and difpyfed confaill, fa that I was compellit to fay that I fearit ouer lait repentance.

Ye haue hard how that Sir Nycholas Throgmorton was ane of the twa Englis ambaffadours, that wes fent in heir to ftay the mariage,

and to mak many promyses in his mestres name to sa many as wald resist the same; quhilk promyses wer efterwart denyed be the Quen of England, and be Mester Randolphe. Bot Sir Nycholas Throgmorton stod na aw, nother of the Quen nor confaill, to tell the verite, how that he had maid sic promyses to them in hir name. Quhilk the confaill and craftiest courteouris thocht strange, and wer myndit to punise him, P. 76. for aduowing the said promyse to haue bene maid in his mestres name, wer not that he, wyfely and circomspectly, had ane act of confaill for his warrant till produce; and the said Sir Nycholas was sa angry, for that he had bene maid ane instrument to disceaue the Scotis baniffit lordis, that he aduysed them to sut humbly for pardone at ther awen Quen, neuer again till offend hir for na prince alywe. And because they had na moyen nor outgait, he pennit a perswasywe proposition, and send in heir vnto hir Maieste.

“Your Maieste has in England many frendis of all degrees, that fauores your title; bot for dyuers respectis. Some for very conscience saik, being persuadit that in law your rycht is best; some for the gud oppinion they haue conceaut, by the honnorable report they haue hard of your Maiesteis vertues and liberalite, wherby they esteam you maist worthy to gouern; some for factions that fauores your religion; some for the euell will they bear vnto your compeditour, seing ther awen parell, gif my Lady Katherine fuld com in that place.

“Of thir some ar papistis and some protestantis; and yet how euer they differ amangest them selues, in religion or vther particulariteis, they ar baith of a mynd for the aduancement of that propos that tueches your Maieste. Your Maieste has also many ennemys, for dyuers re-

ſpectis not onlyk to the other; whais ſtudy has alwayes bene and wilbe, (onles they may be maid frendis,) to hender any thing that may tend to your commoditie. In a point all'concurres, baith frendis and ennemys, yea the haill people; that they ar maiſt deſyrous to haue the ſucceſſion of the crowne declaired and affured, that they may be at a certaintie. Only the Quen hir ſelf is of the contrary oppinion, and wald be glaid the matter alwayes ſuld ſtand in dout, and hing in ſuſpens.

“Your vnfrendis has done what they culd, to tak the aduantage of the tym to your prejudice; and to that end preſſit the halding of the parlement, quhilk was befoir continowed vntill Oſtober laſt; knawing affuredly that gif the parlement held, the ſucceſſion of the crown wald be callit in queſtion; and they thocht the tym ſerued weall for ther propos, when ther was diuiſion and trouble in your awen realm, and your intelligence in England, baith with the Quen and ſubieſtis, as they thocht, at the worſt. Your fauorers, for eſchewing of that inconvenient, and wynnyng of tym to gif your Maieſte place to werk, and remoue all impedimentis ſa far as wyſdome may, has found the meanis to drywe it preſently whill the nyxt ſpring. Now ther aduyſe is, that in this mean tym, your Maieſte procead by wiſdome to affure your ſelf of the haill vottis, or at leaſt the beſt and maiſt part of the parlement, when euer the matter ſalbe brocht in queſtion; quhilk may be done by re-teanyng the hartis of them ye haue alredy, recouering of them that ar brangled, wynnyng of the neuteris, and ſa many of your aduerſaris as may be wonn; for all ar not, as is to be ſupponit, ſa far addicted to the contrary faction, bot when the cauſe is remoued of the affection that way, the effect alſo will ceaſe.

“Generally your Maieſte mon forbear to do any act that will offend

the haill people, and vse sic meanis as ar lyk to content any people. Strangers ar vniverfelly fufpect to the haill people; wherinto your Maieſte in your mariage has wyfely prouydit for ther contentation, in abſteanyng from matches with forren princes. Sa aduylſe they your Maieſte, to abſtean from the conclufion of any leig or confederacy with any forrene prince, that may offend England, whill ye haue firſt effay-ed what ye may purchefe be benevolence of the born men of the land. Not that they wald wiſs your Maieſte to forſaik the frendſchip of France and Spaine, bot rather that your Maieſte ſuld wyfely enterteny them baith, to remane at your deuotion incaice that efterwart ye haue to do

P. 77. with ther fauour. Nevertheles, that the ſame remain rather in generall termes, as heirtofoir, quhill ye ſe farther, then that ye procead till any ſpeciall actis that may offend England, and that ye can not with honour bring bak again when ye wald. Sa many of your aduerſaries as ar addicted to the contrary faction, for hattrent of your religion, may be wone, when they ſe your Maieſte wyfely continow in the temperance and moderation ye haue hitherto vſit within your awen realm, in matters of religion, without innovation or alteration. Sa many as by miſreportis has bene caried to the contrary faction, may by trew report be brocht bak again, when they fall heir of your benignite and clemency, vſed alwaies towardis your ſubiectis; quhilkis vertues in princes, of all vthers maiſt allures the hartis of people, to fauour and yeild euen vnto ther commoun ennemys. Sa many as can deall warrely and diſcretly with your frendis of baith the religions, and ar only addicted for conſcience ſaik vnto my Lady Katherine, being perſuadit of the betternes of your title by richt, may be wone to your Maieſte be contrary perſuaſions, and be deducing of ſic raiſouns and argumentis, as may be allegit

for proif of your gud cause, where there is ftoir enough. Some your Maiefte will find in England, that will hazard fa far as they dar, to ferue your turn in this behalf. Bot becaufe it is fa dangerous to men to deall in, and ftandis fubiectis vpon lyues and landis, gene they be fean ernest medlers to trauell in that part fa fufficiently as appertenis, it will requyre fic instrumentis of your awen, when tym commes, wha may baldly fpeak without danger, and with whom the fubiectis of England dar frely communicat ther myndis, and enter in conference. Gif any feris your Maiefte, thinking that ye haue an euell oppinion of them, the affurance of any trusty minifter, of your gud will, whom they will credit, will fchone put them out of dout and mak them fauourable anough. They that ar constantly yours, ar eafely retenit at your deuotion. They that heirtofore has born any fauour, and be the lait occurrences ar anything branlet, wilbe brocht hame again, when they fall fe your Maiefte, now when it is fallen in your handis to vfe rygour or mercy as plesis you, rather inclyn to the maift plaufible part, in fchawing your magnanimite, wher ye brocht your fubiect to fubmiffion; and then fchawes gentilnes, as the gud pafteur to reduce his fcheep that wer gone aftray hame to the fald again. They that ar yet newterelis, by the same meanis and trew information of your intrefs by law, may all be won to your fyd. This done, when the matter commes in queftion, as your frendis will ernestly prefs at this nyxt parlement, your Maiefte will bear it away without contrauerfie.

“ This deuylfe, in fa far as tuechis the reconcilien of your fubiectis, is not a fetche for ther fauour, bot thocht expedient for your feruice; done be many that has na fauour to them, and ar different from them in religion. For it fall put the Quen of England in a gret fear, when

ſche ſall ſee in this realm ſic a vnion, the head and haill membres together; and will not wit how to trouble your Maieſteis eſtate, ſpecially when the reconciliation takis effect in the hartis of the ſubiectis of England; wha ſall think them ſelues in ane happy eſtate, gif they ſuld
P.78. com vnder the obedience of ſa bening a princes, wha can find in hir hart ſa weill to forgeue, when men becomes recreant. For albeit it can not be denyed bot my L. of Murray had miſuſit himſelf towardis your Maieſte, and your Maieſte has gud cauſe to be offendit with him, yet it is hard to perſwad the proteſtantis that ſome part of his greif is not for religion. This way redreſſis all; and na doubt they that ar proteſtantis in England, will declaire them ſelues a gret deall the mair effectiounit in your cauſe, when they ſall ſee men of ther awen religion clemently handled. And that your Maieſte may haue experience, that it is your aduancement that men wald by this meanis procure, and not the commoditie of them that your Maieſte is offendit with, a myd way may be folowed out; that is, in all ſemblable cauſes the multitude is ſpaired, and the cheif authours ar principally perſewed. It may pleaſe your Maieſte to cauſe pen a lettre in gud termes and form, and publiſch the ſame by proclamation and prent, declairing the juſt cauſe of your greif againſt them; and yet for declaration of your awen gud nature, abone ther deſeruingis, ye ar content to remit the haill, except ſic principallis as ye pleaſe to reſerue and except by name in the generall pardone; with whom ye will not tak ſic ordour, quhill ye haue farther tryell and experience of ther penitence. The perſones ſo to benominat and excepted ſall depart out of England, to what contre pleaſis your Maieſte, and ther to remaine during your pleaſour. In this mean tym, gif your Maieſte find that this bening vſage of your Maieſte in this be-

half, fall produce any sic fruit as is heir spoken, and ye lyk, for your Maieſte has the crymes lyand abone ther head to be perſewed and rygour execut againſt them, as pleſit your Maieſte, gif ye find it proffit-able; or than your Maieſte will extend your fauour further as ye think gud, and as ther deportementis in the mean tym deſeruis; and all that fauoris them in England will trauell in your cauſe, ſa far as ther credit will extend, as gene they wer agentis for your Maieſte. They will in na wayes, gif they may eſchew it, be in the Quen of Englandis com-mown; nother by obteanyng of any fauour at your hand by hir inter-vention, nor yet for any ſupport in the tym of ther baniſſement; bot rather it may pleaſe your Maieſte, that ther chargis be tane vpon that quhilk was ther awen lyuings. Be folowing this aduyſe, quhilk in na wayes can be prejudicial to your Maieſte, and is able to bring on a greter commoditie, your Maieſte may recouer and wone the maiſt part of the biſchoppis of England, many of the greteſt of the nobilite and gentilmen, wha is yet newteral.”—Whais names wer declairit vnto hir Maieſte in chiffer; be whais meanis he allegit hir Maieſte fuld obtean ſa gret ane entreis in England, that albeit that Quen wald kyeth in hir contraire, ſche nedit not to cair; for in ſending bot ane thowſand men of hir awen, out of four partis of England a ſufficient number fuld jun with them, be whais forcis without any ſtrangers hir Maieſte fuld obtean that thing quhilk is wrangeouſly refuſit and detenit.

P.79. When hir Maieſte had muſed vpon this diſcours, it had gret force to moue hir, aſweill for the gud oppinion ſche had of him that ſent it, as being of hir awen nature mair inclynit to mercy then rigour; together that ſche was wyſe, and perſauit a weill therby vnto the aduancement of hir affaires in England. Sche tok a reſolution to folow this aduyſe,

and to prolong the Parlement quhilk was fet to forfait the lordis that wer fled. Seigneur Daud apperit to be also wone to the same effect ; for my L. of Murray had futed him very ernestly, and mair humbly then any man wald haue beleued, with the present of a faire dyamont, inclosed within a lettre full of repentance, and faire promyses fra that tym fourth to be his frend and protectour ; quhilk the said Daud granted to do with the better will, that he persauit the King to bear him litle gud will, and to glowm vpon him.

Folowing this aduyse and aduertiffement geuen be Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun, the Quenis Maieste fend my brother Sir Robert Melville, to remain hir ambaffadour ordinair at the court of England ; to be redy at all occasions, incaice any thing wer traitit at the Parlement anent the succeffion, as till folow fourth the plat laid down be Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun and hir vther frendis in England. In this mean tym, ther wes a Frenche gentelman fend hameheir, callit Mons^r de Villemonte, with a commiffion to stay the Quen in nawayes till agre with the lordis protestantis that were baniffit, because that all catholik princes wer bandit to rut them out of all Europe ; quhilk was a deuyce of the Cardinall of Lorraine, laitly com bak from the concile of Trent, and had caused the King of France to wret ernestly to that effect. Quhilk vnhappy meffage haifted fordwart dyuers tragicall accidentis. For the Quen was laith till offend hir awen frendis in France, of the house of Guise, albeit sche wald haue done litle by her dyet then for the King of France, yet yong, only gydit be his mother whom sche had na gud cause to lyk weill of ; bot f^r Daud was thocht also of oppinion, not till offend sa many confiderat catholik princes, and specially the Paip, with whom as was allegit he had some secret intelligence. Heirby the Quen

was mouit to hald fordwart the Parlement, and till forfalt the baniffit lordis, against hir awen intention, and against hir formair deliberation.

Now ther was a number of lordis at hame, that apperit to be frendis to the lordis that were baniffit ; as the Erle of Mortoun, the Lord Ruthven, the Lord Lindsay, and dyuers vthers gentilmen ther fauorers only for religion. Some of thir wes miscontent that ther frendis fuld be forfalted ; vthers had vther particulaires ; specially the Erle of Mortoun and his dependers fearit a reuocation that was allegit to be maid at the faid parlement, to bring bak again to the crown dyuers gret dispositions geuen out during the Quenis minorite, and some benifices that wer tane be noblemen at ther awen handis, during the ciuill warres, under pretext of religion. Thir and vther particularites moued them to consult togither how to get the parlement stayed, and to mak a chenge in court. The Erle of Mortoun had a crafty head, and had a cufing callit George Dowglas the postulat, sone naturell to the Erle of Angus, was also father to Dame Margret Dowglas Contes of Lenox the Kingismother. The faid George was continowally about the K. as his mother brother, and pat in his head sic fuspition against feigneur Daud, that the K. wes wone to geue his consent ouer facely to the flauchter of feigneur Daud, quhilk the Lordis of Mortoun, Ruthven, Lindsay and vthers had devyfit ; that way to be masters of the court, and to stay the parlement.

P.80. The King was yet very yong of yeares, and not weill experimented with the nature of this nation. It was supponit also that the Erle of Lenox knew of the faid enterpryse, for he had his chamber within the palice ; and sa had the Erles of Atholl, Bothewell, and Huntly, wha baith eschaiped be louping down out of a window, towardis the litle

garding wher the lyons are ligit. This vil act was done vpon a Saturday [the 9.] of [March] in the year [1565] about sex houres. When the Quen was at hir supper in hir cabinet, a number of armed men entrit within the clofs before the clofing of the ȝetis, and tok the keyes from the porter. Ane part of them paffit vp throw the Kingis chamber, conducted be the Lord Ruthven and George Douglas the poftulat; the reft remanit in the clofe, with drawen fwerdis in ther handis, crying "a Douglas, a Douglas," for ther flougern; for it was in the glomyng of the euenyng. The King was pafft vp to the Quen of before, and was leanin vpon hir chair, when the Lord Ruthven entrit with his knappifca vpon his head, and George the poftulat entrit in with him and dyuers vther, fa rudly and vnreuerently, that the burd fell, the candelis and meat and plaitis fell. Sr Dauid tok the Quen about the waift, and cryed for marcy; bot George Dowglas pluckit fourth the Kingis dager that wes behind his bak, and ftrak him firft with it, leauyng it fticking within him. He geving gret fkirlis and cryes, wes rudly reft from the Quen, wha culd not get him faif, nother for boift nor fairnes. He wes forceably drawen fourth of the cabinet, and flain in the vtter hall, and her Maiefte keped as captywe.

Thatfamenyght, the Erle of Atholl, lard of Tullibardin, and fecretary Liddingtoun, and Sir James Balfour, wer fufferit to reteir them felues fourth of the palice of Hallirudhoufe, and wer in fome feir of ther lyues. The nyxt mornyng, quhilk was Sondag, I was lettin fourth at the ȝet: for I lay therin. Paffing throw the vtter clofe, the Quenis Maiefte was loking fourth of a window, and cryed vnto me to help hir. Then I drew neir vnto the window, and askit what help lay in my power I fuld mak. Sche faid, go to the proueft of Edenbrough, and bid him in my name

convene the toun with speid, and com and releaue me out of thir traitours handis; "Bot run fast," said sche, "for they will stay yow." Be this was said, ane master Nisbit, maister houshold to the Erle of Lennox, was sent with a company to stay me; to whom I gaue gud wordis, and said that I was only passing to the preching in S^t Gillis kirk, for it [was] sonday; bot I went with speid vnto the said prouest, and tald hym my commiffion from the Quen. He said he had another commandement fra the K.; alwayes, that he fuld draw the people to the towbuith, and se what they wald do; bot he loked for na help at ther handis, because the maist part of them wer sa miscontent with the present gouvernement that they desyred a chengement. Yet he convenit them in vain, and schew me ther answer; quhilk I maid hir Maieste till vnderstand be ane of hir ladyes, whom sche send again vnto me; and said that sche supponit that my L. of Murray and his associatis that wer yet baniffit, remanying at Newcasstell in England, wald be sent for be them that wer about hir; willing me at his commyng to admonisch and perswad him not to deffyll him self as to jun with them, bot to hald him self fre, and be hir frend at this strait; quhilk doing fuld be his gretest weill, and wone hir loue and fauour as euer he had it. Quhilk commiffion I vsed at his incommyng, quhilk was vpon P.81. the monday; bot he was mair moued at his meating with hir Maieste, wha embracit him and kiffit him, alleging that incaice he had bene at hame, he wald not haue sufferit hir to haue bene sa vncourtesly handlit; quhilk mouit him sa, that the teares fell from his eyn. He knew also that it was not for his cause, bot for ther awen particulars, that the maist part of them maid that enterpryse; yet he and his company kepit the day to the quhilk they wer sumondit to the parlement.

In the mean tym the King repented his foly; wherupon hir Maieſte tok occaſion till perſwad him till abandone the lordis, that had committed ſa odyous a crym as to put hir in hazard of hyr lyf, together with his barne that wes in hir wamb; neuertheles ſche wald forgeue them, and mak them ſic ſecurite as they wald deuyſe. The L. enterpryſers ſeing the K. wone, and my L. of Murray not ſa frak for them as they ſupponit, wer fain to do the nyxt beſt, and let a maner of a pacification he pennit; quhilk wes dyuers times wreten ouer again, to put in and out certane headis and clauſes, to dryue tym vntill the wret mycht appear plaucible and at a point. Hir Maieſte cauſed the K. to aduyſe them to diſcharge the gard that keped hir, that ther ſecurite mycht be paſt, ſche being at liberte, or elis it wald not auail them. Sa that nycht, quhilk was Tuifday, they went all to ther reſt; bot the Quen, with the K. and Traquair, and Arthur Aſkin maſter ſtabler for the tym, paſt out of Halyrudhouſe at mydnycht towardis the caſtell of Dombar, and left word with ane of hir ladys to me, that I ſuld be erneſt to keip my L. of Murray in tune not to jun with the reſt of the lordis; wha the nyxt mornyng fand them ſelues far diſappointed without any apperance of a drefs or pacification. In the mean tym hir Maieſte vſed deligence to ſend out of Dombarre Meſter Jhon Hay Abbot of Bamirinoch, to my L. of Murray; willing him to tak my help to draw my L. of Murray vtterly from the lait offenders, and in ſa doing, to be pardonit, he and all his part takers. They on this maner being deſtitute of all aſſiſtance, wer compellit to flee in England, to the Newcaſtell, wher in a maner they mycht find the other lordis neſtis yet hait.

A few dayes of before, my L. Duc, my Lordis of Argyll, Glencarn and Rothes had obtenit ther pacification; for they wer deuydit during

ther baniffement, and hir Maieftethocht not meit to haue fa many lordis in hir contraire; as now again, when the Erle of Murray was drawen fra the Erle of Mortoun and his marrowes, becaufe he had a gret frendfchip and dependance for the tym; that fche mycht the eafelier be reuengit vpon the laft maift deteftable dede, as till mourther hir faruant in hir prefens, fche being gret with chyld; done apperantly to caufe hir and hir bairn baith be diftroyed; wheras they mycht haue flane the faid Daud in any vther part at any tym they pleafit. My L. of Murray and his dependers defyred me to cary his humble thankis and confent vnto hir Maiefteis defyre, and how that he had difchargit himfelf vnto them that had committed the lait odious crym; and wald promyfe hir Maiefte never to haue to do with them, nor trauell for them.

I met hir Maiefte commyng from Dombar to Hadingtoun, and was very fauourably receaued, with gret thankis for my continowell cair of hir honour and weilfaire; and that nycht in Hadingtoun, fubferyuit dyuers remiffions for my L. of Murray and his dependers; lamenting vnto me the Kingis folly, vnthankfulnes and misbehauour, and alfo of my L. of Lenox part; quhilk I fupponit had bene pardonit, and I excufed the beft I mycht be raifoun of his youth, and layed the wyet vpon George Douglas and vthers; preing hir Maiefte, for many neceffary refpectis, to remoue out of hir mynd all eyleftis againft him, feing that fche had chofen him hirfelf againft the oppinion of many, and promyfed hym fauour again of new. Bot I culd perfaue nathing bot a gret gruge that fche had in hir hart. That nycht in Haddingtoun, the K. inquiryt at me gene my L. of Murray had wreten vnto him. I faid that his letter to the Quen was wreten in haift, and that he eftemed the Quen and him bot ane. He faid, he mycht haue wreten alfo to me. Then he

P. 82. inquyred what was becom of Mortoun, Ruthven and the rest of that company. I said, I beleued they wer fled, I wistnot wher. He said, "as they haue brewen, so let them drink." It apperit that he wes fory that he had left them, finding the Quenis fauour bot cauld. The nyxt day they cam till Edenbrough, and logit within the castell; wher some wer apprehendit and execut, that had bene in the clofe of the palice, and had kepit the getis the nycht that Daid was flain.

Hir Maieste was now far gane with chyld, and past to Stirling, intending to ly ther; wher the K. folowed hir, and fra that till Alloway. At lenth sche cam bak again to the castell of Edenbrough, and some thocht that sche fled fra his company. I trauelit earnestly to help matters betwen them, and was sa importun that I was thocht sa faschious, that hir Maieste defyred my L. of Murray to reproue me, and forbid me to be famylier with the K.; wha past vp and down his allane, and few durst bear hym company. He was mislyked be the Quen, and be all them that fauorit secretly the lait baniffit lordis. Sa that it was a gret pitie to see that gud yong prince casten aff, wha failed rather for lak of gud confaill and experience, then of euell will. It apperit to be his desteny to lyk better of flatterers and euell company, then of plane speakers and of gud men; quhilk hes bene the wrak of many princes, wha with gud company mycht haue producit worthy effectis.

About this tym the Quen of England was sa fair vefit with a het feuer, that na man beleued any vther bot death to be the end of it, all England being therthrow in a gret perplexite. Bot a thing is to [be] markit, that twa contrary factions ther for the tym, had baith determinit, vn knawen vthers myndis, to send for the Quen of Scotland, and set the crown of England vpon hir head.

This suld
haue bene
placet ef-
ter the
baptysm of
the prince,
at this
mark.

+

My brother Sir Robert Melville wes then ambaffadour ther refident for the tym, and I ferued in ftead of fecretaire heir at hame, becaufe the fecretairy Liddingtoun was abfent in fome fufpition. He fend hame continowally, and aduertifementis how till proced; and I again wret the answeres at hir Maiefteis direction; [*wha a litle before this tym being at Gedbrouch, to vefit the Erle Bodowell, wha wes ouerthrawn be the theues, and hurt vnto the death as wes fupponit, yet he reco- uerit again to wirk greter mifcheif, hir Maiefte fell ther deadly feak, and maid a very wyfe and discret testament, and many godly prayers, and gaif many gud documentis to my L. of Murrey; quhilk all I fet out in wret, and send in England at dyers tymes; quhilk my brother fchew to dyuers noblemen and vther fauorers of hir Maiefte, wha all defyred copyes of the faid lettres; quhair of my brother aduertifed hir Maiefte, to caufe me continew, alleging that it layed down dyuers euell brutis that hir ennemys fpred abroid; for the dayes wer euell, and it was a bufy tym.*]

Now the Erle Bodowelis fauour increaffit, quhilk miscontentit many. He and the Erle of Huntly and the Bifchop of Rofs invyed the fauour that the Quen fchew vnto the Erle of Murray; for they wer vpon contrary courfes. The Quen again knew what fauour was born vnto him baith in England and Scotland, and that fche wald be the better lykit
P.83. in baith the contrees then for his faik; folowing and taking vp again the formair aduyfe and information quhilk was fend in be Sir Nycolas Throgmortoun, and forget not the lait help that he had maid hir at his hamecommung. Thir twa erles, with the foirfaid bifchop, tok occafion when the tym of hir Maiefteis birth drew neir, to perfuad hir Maiefte to put my L. of Murrey in ward, to remain na langer bot till hir Maiefte

wer delyuerit of hir birth; alleging that they wer assuredly aduertist, that he and his dependers wer myndit to bring in the baniffit lordis, euen at the very tym of hir birth. For they thocht, gif anes he wer wardit, that they fuld get deuyces anew to cause him be kepit, and disgracit ay the langer the mair, when he fuld not be present nor haue plaice to answer and resist ther callomnies; quhilk hir Maieste tald me, at a meit tym to put it clean out of hir mynd, and to let hir see that it was bot a plane practys. For many of the barrons of Loudien wer frendis to the Erle of Mortoun, amang the rest the lard of Elphinstoun mygud brother, whais mother was a Douglas of the house of Whittingem. Be this frendship, the Erle of Mortoun causit wret a bill vnto my sifter the lady of Elphinstoun, that sche wald deall with me and perswad me to wret lettres vnto the Electour Palatin, and vther princes of my acquaintance in Germany, to suffer hym to lywe in ther contre. For my brother, be hir Maiesteis direction, preffit the Quen of England to put them fourth of hir contre; and he durst not ga in France, where the Quen had sa many frendis. This I schew vnto hir Maieste, and sa sche wardit him not, bot forbade me to wret in fauours of Mortoun.

Thir geloufies was amang the cheiffest courteours for the tym. In the mean tym Mester Hary Killygrew was sent in heir, ambassadour from the Quen of England; wha was in gret suspition of hir estait, for the many frendis in England that were knawen to be fauourers of our Quen, and lykways in Yreland. The said ambassadour complanit against ane Mester Ruxbe, that was recet in Scotland, being a rebell and a papist; declaren how that the Quen his mestres had commandit Mortoun and his complices fourth of hir contre; quhilk was done be open proclamation, to pleise the Quenis Maieste and hir ambassadour

that cryed out continually for hir suffering them to abyd sa lang in England. Yet as we had intelligence efterwart, they wer secretly ouer-sean, with condition that they wald kepe them selues quyet.

Mester Killigrew allegit also, that the Quenis Maieste had maid practyses with Onell in Yreland, wha had his ambaffadour presently in Edenbrough, in company with the Erle of Argyll. And thridly, he complenit of some disorder vpon the borders mouit be Scottismen. Bot the cheif colour of his commiffion was, till confort the Quen ouer hir lait troubles, and to congratulat hir fredome and gud succesor hir wickit and rebellious subiectis.

It may appear sufficiently be that Quenis former proceadingis, how that all ther sifterly famyliarite was cessit, and insted therof nathing bot jelousies, suspitions and hattrent; and yet they kepit ane outward dealing, for keping of nybourhead and intelligence. The Scottis ambaffadour for the tym in England had sa gud hope that his credit was gret, for he was estymed fur and secret; quhilk caused a gret number of nobilite, protestantis and papists, to communicat ther inwart myndis vnto him. Mester Randolphe had not the lyk credit in Scotland, bot only with some of the semplest sort of the ministers; ther-
P.85 for this Ruxbe was fend in heir, to seam to be a zelous fauorer of hir Maiesteis richt and tittle vnto the crown of England, and to purches famylier speaking with the Quen, to bring in purpos his frendschip with dyuers catholiks in England, wha durst not deall with the Scottis ambaffadour being a protestant, bot wald deall him self betwen hir Maieste and them; to essay what he culd draw out of hir Maiestis mynd, to mak advertisement again to the secretary Cicill; and ad-dressit him vnto the Quenis Maieste be the bischop of Ross, wha was

a catholyk; the said bischop defyring hir Maieſte to be ſecret. What he learnt for the tym, I can not tell, bot he wret findrie intelligences vnto the ſecretary Cicill, quhilk did harm; bot it was not ſa ſecretly kept bot my brother gat knowlege therof, and alſo of a lettre that the ſecretary Cicill wret again in Scotland to the ſaid Maiſter Ruxbe, promyſen to cauſe him be rewardit, and willing him to continow. Wherof my brother be his gret intelligence was ſa weill aduertit, that he maid hir Maieſte foirſean therof in dew tym, with his information alſo vnto me, to remember hir Maieſte how to convoy that matter. Sa that when Meſter Killigrew maid his complaint vpon Meſtre Ruxbis recepting and traiting in this contre, hir Maieſte cauſed him incontinent to be apprehendit, and all his chiffers and wretis; amang the quhilkis was found lykwais the letter wreten be the ſecretary Cicill abone ſpecified. Ruxbe finding his fynefs diſcouert, fell incontinent vpon his knees, and granted himſelf worthy of a thowſand deathes, crauyng humbly grace and pardone. Hir Maieſte cauſed hym to be ſa ſecretly and ſtraitly keped, that the Engliſ ambaffadour culd get na intelligence how nor for what cauſe, vntill that the Quenis [Maieſte] ſchew him hir ſelf, how that vpon his complaint, to pleaſe the Quen hir gud ſiſter, ſche had cauſed apprehend the ſaid Ruxbe; wha ſuld be delyuerit ſa ſchone efter his retournyng, as it wald pleaſe hir ſiſter ſend for him.

Bot as this Maiſter Ruxbe was feingzeit, ſa was the complaint. Bot hir Maieſte was aduyſit not to ſeam till knaw any wreting or practyſe maid in hir contraire be the ſecretary Cicill, to do him that ſchame, wha profeſſit be ſa many fair promyſes to be hir frend; becauſe it was not yet tym to caſt aff intelligence, ſa lang as hir Maieſte had maiſt

proffit therby; as wald haue prouen in effect, wer not sic vnhappy handling and chances that fell out fchortly after.

The Quenis Maiesteis rekonyng being neir run out, hir Maieste caused mak my dispasche for England in a redines, to annunce the gud newes of hir delyuery vnto that Quen; leaving a blank in hir lettre, to be fillit other with a sone or a dochter, as it mycht please God to grant vnto hir; and to requyre the Quen of England to fend heir in hir name, sic of hers as sche knew to be best addicted to enterten y gud loue and frendship between them, to goffuppis, for fa ar they callit in England; as also to satisfie hir anent the maist part of Mester Killigreues demandis in hir name.

All this whyll I lay within the castell of Edenbrough, preing nycht and day for hir Maiesteis gud and happy delyuery of a fair sonne. This prayer being granted, I was the first that was aduertist be the Lady Boyn, in hir Maiesteis name, to part with diligence, the xix day of Junij in the year 1566, betwen ten and eleuen houres before nun. It strock tuelff houres when I tok my horse, and was at Berwik that same nycht. The fourt day efter I was at Londoun, and met first with my brother; wha sent and aduertist the secretery Cicill that same nycht of my commyng, and of the birth of the prince; willing hym to kep it vp, vntill my being at court to schaw it my self vnto hir Maieste, P.85. wha was for the tym at Grenwitch; wher hir Maieste was in gret merines and dancing efter supper; bot fa schone as the secretery Cicill roundit the newes in hir ear of the prince birth, all merines was layed asyd for that nycht; euery ane that wer present marueling what mycht moue fa sodane a chengement; for the Quen sat down with hir hand vpon hir haffet, and boursting out to some of hir ladies, how that

the Quen of Scotlandis was leichter of a faire sonne, and that sche was bot a barren stok. The nyxt mornyng was appointed vnto me to get audience; at what tym my brother and I past down the watter be boit vnto Grenwitche, and wer met be some frendis that tald us how sorrowfull hir Maieste was for my newes, and what counsaill sche had gottin to schaw a glaid contenance; quhilk sche did in hir best apparell, and fayed that the joyfull newes of the Quen hir sisters delyuery of a faire sone, quhilk I had sent vnto hir be Mester Cicill, had recoverit hir out of a heauy feaknes quhilk had halden hir xv dayes. Therefore sche welcommit me with a mirry volt, and thankit me for the diligence that I had vsed. All this sche said before I had delyuerit vnto hir my lettre of credence. Efter that sche had red it, I declaired how that the Quen had haisted me towardis hir Maieste, whom sche knew of all vther hir frendis wald be glaideft of the gud newes of hir birth, albeit dear bocht with the parell of hir lyf; for I said, that sche was so fair handled in the mean tym, that sche wiffit neuer to haue bene married. This I said to geue hir a litle skar to mary, be the way; for so my brother had infourmed me, because sche boisted somtymes to mary the Archeduc Charles of Austria, when any man preffit hir to declair a second persone. Then I requested hir Maieste to be a goffup vnto the Quen, for our commers ar callit goffups in England; quhilk sche granted glaidly to be. Then I said, hir Maieste wald haue a faire occasion to se the Quen, quhilk sche had so oft desyred. At this sche smyled, and said sche wald wis that hir estait and affaires mycht permit hir; and promysed to send baith honorable lordis and ladyes to supple hir rowm. Then I gaue hir Maieste maist hartly thankis in the Quenis name, for hir frendly visitation and conforting of the Quen be

Mester Hary Killigrew. Sche inquyrit gif I left him in Scotland, and what was the cause of his lang tary. I said, that the Quen tok hir childbed schortly efter his arryving, quhilk was the cheif cause of his delay; bot I had in commiffion to tell hir Maieſte ſomthing theranent, to ſatiffie hir mynd in the mean tym; and to thank hir Maieſte for the way putting of the Scotis rebels out of hir contre, albeit ther wer ſome bruitis, that they wer yet ſecretly kepit be ſome of hir ſubiectis; bot I beleued not that any of hir ſubiectis durſt be ſa bald, or ſa diſobedient. Bot ſche affermed that they wer fourth of hir contre; and gif it mycht be vtherwayes tryed, it ſuld not paſs without rygorous puniſement.

I ſchew hir Maieſte, that vpon hir ambaffadours deſyre and complaint, the Quen had cauſed apprehend Mester Ruxbe, and ſall cauſe hym be delyuerit vnto hir Maieſte, when euer ſche pleaſis ſend for hym. And as concernyng Onell, ſche had na dealing with him, nor knew not that ther was a ſaruand of his ſend vnto my L. of Argyll, ontill Mester Killigrews commyng, that ſche cauſed inquyre at the ſaid Erle; wha granted that Onell had ſend ane vnto hym, for ſome purpoſes amang them ſelues, bot that ſche nother ſaw nor ſpak with that man, nor had dealing with any man in Yreland.

P.86. Hir Maieſte apperit to be weill ſatiffied with the matters of Yreland, and anent Maifter Ruxbe; bot ſche forget to ſut or ſend for him. Before I tok my leawe to return, I enterit with hir Maieſte anent the title; for my L. of Leyciſter was become hir plane frend, and had bene twyſe in hand with the Quen of England, a litle before my commyng, to declare the Quen of Scotland ſecond perſonne; alleging that it wald be the Quen his maiſtres greteſt weall and ſecurite; and ſaid

in ane anger that Cicill wald vndo all. Lykwayes the Duc of Norfolk, the Erle of Penbrough and many vthers, fchew them felues mair planly frendis, efter they vnderftod the birthe of the prince ; fa that hir Maieftis matters in England wer for the tym far agaitwart, and I was aduyfit therfore till fay vnto hir Maiefte, that I was affured fche ftayed to declair the Quen fecond perfonne, only vntill fche mycht fee fic fucceffion of hir body as now God had gratioufly granted ; preing hir Maiefte to tak the fame gud occaſion to ſatiffie the myndis of many, afweill in England as in Scotland, that defyred to ſe that matter put out of dout ; and the rather becauſe that the Quen my meſtres wald neuer ſeak any richt or place in England, bot be hir Maieftis fauor and fortherance. Sche ſaid, that the birth of the prince was to hir a gret ſpur to cauſe the maiſt ſkilfull lawers of England to vſe gretter deligence in the trying out of that matter, quhilk fche eſtemit maiſt juſtly to appartean vnto hir gud fiſter ; and that fche wiſſit from hir hart that it ſuld ga that gait. I replyed, that at my laſt being ther, hir Maiefte was vpon the ſame termes ; and that as I had brocht hir gud newes from the Quen, I wald defyre to be ſa happy as to cary hame with me vnto her Maiefte, the gud newes of that lang delayed declairation. Then fche ſaid, that fche hoppit to ſatiffie the Quen farther in the matters, be ſic nobleſmen as ſuld be ſent in Scotland for the baptifme of the prince. All this I tok for delayes, and ſa tok my leaue, becauſe my brother wes to remane ther. The nyxt day, hir Maiefte ſent vnto me twa grumes of hir chamber, with hir wreting, and the preſent of a fayre chaigne.

My brother gave me the aduyſe of hir Maieftis freindis, together

with his awen instructions, how till proceed efter my hame commyng, as folowes.

“First, that he is in sic suspition for his handling ther, be the advertifmentis of Master Ruxbe, and practyses of hir ennemys, that hir Maieste mon lat Mester Kelligrew vnderstand, that sche is myndit to reteir him hame schortly ; or elis he feares to be commandit to return.

“2. That hir Maieste requyre the Erle of Leycifter and secretery Cicill to be sent for to be hir goffoppes, as metest instrumentis to parfyt all articles and gud offices of amytie betwen them.

“Item, that Mester Killigrew be weill traited and rewardit, that he may mak gud report, till hald aff discord, that intelligence may continow ; and desyre him to declare vnto the Erle of Lecester and secretery Cicill, that it can not stand with gud frendschip, to be sa lang fed with fair wordis without effect.

“Item, that hir Maieste cast not aff the Erle of Northumberland, albeit as a fearfull man and of facillite, he delyuerit hir letter vnto the Quen of England ; nather seam to find falt with Sir Harry Percy as yet, for his dealing with Mester Ruxbe, quhilk he dois to won fauour in court, being of a contrary faction till his brother the Erle.

P.87. “Item, that Mester Ruxbe be weill keaped, and sent far north in a sure part, that he geue na haifty intelligence ; for he has alredy wreten vnto secretery Cicill, be Sir Hary Percy his moyen, that he can discover all your practyses and secretis.

“Let my L. of Argyll enterteney Oneill as of him self, the Quen not seaming to knaw therof.

“The secretary Cicill deuysed a strange practyse against the meat-
ing, quhilk becaufe my Lord of Leycester discouerit vnto the Quen
his mestres, Cicill sterit vp the Erle of Suffix to forge a quarell against
him; bot the Quen tok the Erle of Leycesters part, and fynally agreed
them, and also Leycester and Vrmond.

“Item, that hir Maieste fuld wret twa lettres with Maister Killi-
grew to my brother; the ane that he may schaw it vnto the Quen of
England, and the other that he may schaw vnto the secretary Cicill.

“Item, to aduertis my brother, what he fall do mair for my Lady
Lenox, whais libertie mycht do mekle gud.

“Now till conclud; seing the gret mark that hir Maieste schutis
at, let hir Maieste be mair cairfull and circomspect, that hir desyres
being sa neir to be obteanit, be not all ouerthrawn for lak of secrecie,
gud handling and prencely behauour; having sa many factious enne-
mys lying at the wait, to mak ther proffit of the least little apperance
that can be maid.”

Schortly after my hamecommynge, Maister Kelligrew the Englis am-
bassadour obteanit his dispasche, with a frendly answer, to his conten-
tement, and with a faire cheignge; and with hym, hir Maieste send
thir twa lettres folowing to my brother, be his awen aduyse, as said
is, that he mycht tak occasion to let the Quen of England se the ane,
and Mester Cicill the other; partly to serue to put some doutis out of
ther myndis, engenderit be Mester Ruxbis aduertismentis. For as I
haue said, the bischop of Rofs had maid the said Ruxbis convoy vnto
the Quen; for nether he nor the Erle Bothuell desyred hir turnis to
prosper vnder my brothers hand, becaufe he was not of ther faction;

fa that be ther meanis he gat sic intelligence, as pat all hir Maiesteis proceedingis anes in ane vntre, vntill my brothers extraordinair intelligence, be them that wer in gret familiarite with the Quen, maid hym foirsean to cause apprehend the said Ruxbe, with his haill lettres and memories as said is. Sa ar many gud princes handled, and commonly ther trewest faruandis decourted, be the enuy and craft of ther factious ennemys; for wicked men, that haue lost ther credit be tromperie and trikis, wherby they get na place to do gud faruice to princes, effayes to creip in ther fauour be wyles, flattery and vther vnlesome meanis, wherby they may decourt sic as furmontis them in vertu and honest reputation.

HER MAIESTEIS LETTRES VNTO MY BROTHER.

“Trusty and belouit, We greit yow weill. Wheras your brother James has tald us of the frendly and fecfull aduyse, geuen vnto yow and him be Mester secretery Cicill, towardis the continuation of the amytye betwix the Quen our gud sifter and us, tending also to our awen particulier preferrement, We thocht meit to send thir few lynes vnto yow, that ye mycht thank him hartly in our name, and declair vnto hym our meanyng and intention, as ye find opportunitie, tueching the thre pointis that he mentionit at that tym.

“The first, as we vnderstand, tueching our towardnes to them of the religion; the second, tueching strait iustice to be obserued vpon the
P.88. borders; the thrid, that we will searche na vther meanis to com vnto the succeffion of the crown of England, bot only be the fauor and fourth-setting of the Quen our gud sifter.

“As to the first, ye fall answer in our name, That sen our retourn-

yng out of France, we haue neyther constrained nor perfecuted any for cause of religion, nor yet myndis to do; ther credit with ws being sa manifest, that they bear the cheiffest offices, ar cheiffest of our consell, and principally employed in our maist vrgent affaires befoir all vthers. Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun can testifie what he has seane and hard, at his being heir, theranent, howbeit that contrary bruitis ar blawen abroide, be the malice and practyses of our aduersaires.

“To the second, that concernis bordour matters; it is maist certain, that the principall officers on baith the fydes, ar speciall instrumentis of all the difordour; taking occasion vpon our lait troubles, when as they persauit that we mycht not sa weill tak ordour with them as we wer willing, as now when it hath pleasit God grant vnto vs some mair quyetnes; desyring him also to procure at the Quen his foueranes handis, that the lyk deligence be tane for hir part, as falbe seane vfit be us; and then we dout not bot that baith sche, he and all vthers that complanes, falbe satisfied.

“As to the thrid and last head; ye fall schaw vnto him the tenour of our vther lettre vnto the Quenis satisfiactioun, and our vther frendis in tha partis. Sa with my frendly commendations vnto him and his wyf, I commit yow to the protection of the Almychty. From the castell of Edenbrough this of the year 1566.

“Trusty and belouit, We gret yow weill. We haue receauit gret confort and contentement, be the declairation your brother has maid vnto vs, of the Quen our gud sisters continowell affection and constant loue towardis ws; quhilk sche has now schawen vnto yow, and your brother at his commyng, as also be hir lettres vnto our self; lykwayes

for the grant ſche has maid to be our goſſup, and promyſe to ſend ſa honorable a company of lordis and ladyes, for ſolemniffing the ſame in hir name ; wherof ye ſhall geue hir maiſt hartly thankis in our behalf, and ſay vnto hir, that we deſyre nathing to be done therin, bot at hir beſt commoditie and leaſt charges ; preing hir alwayes, that the principall man that it may pleaſe hir to ſend, be ſic a ane as we haue knawen be lang experience to haue bene maiſt tender and famylier with hir ; to whom we may the mair frely oppen and ſignify dyuers thingis, quhilkis we intendit to haue ſpoken be mouth vnto hir ſelf, gene God had granted our deſyred meating. As concernyng Oneill, Ruxbe, and all vther matters, we hope that Meſter Killygrew ſhall ſatiffie hir ſufficiently ; and alſo how that we deſyre to haue na aduancement in that contre, bot be hir only meanis and help, hoping and intending ſa to direct our courſe and behauour towardis hir, as ſche ſhall haue cauſe more and more to procure ernestly and cairfully hir ſelf, all thingis that may forder our weill and aduancement in this contre, that contre, or any vther. In the quhilk eſperance, we will do our beſt to folow ſic thingis as may pleaſe hir, and to ſle and forbear ſic as may offend hir ; with our maiſt ſtrait command vnto yow to do the lyk at your power, ſa lang as ye remain ther, and wher euer ye be in our ſeruice, euen as I gaif yow commandement of before. Nevertheles in the mean tym, that ye enterteny ſa frendly and diſcretly as ye can, all thais of that contre as profeſſis to bear gud will vnto us and to our title ; yet in ſic
P. 89. ſort as nether ye nor they offend the Quen our gud fiſter. And gene ther chance to com vnto yow any haiſty or ſeditious perſones, admoniſch them gently to ceis ; and gene they will not, ſchaw vnto them that our courſe and promyſeis ſic with the Quen, that ye mon nedeſ declair ther

doings and names vnto hir ; and do it in deid, gif they will not ceis. Sa it falbe knawen, that sic as is about to saw discord betwen the Quen our gud fister and us, dois it rather vpon particulier respectis and for ther proffit, then for any weill of hirs, or our affaires."

Thir kind of wretings wer for the tym deuysed, till ouerthrow and cast down some intelligences that wer discouert be Ruxbe, and some bruitis that wer raised be ennemys, how that my brother be his practyses and perswasions had kendlit a gret fyre, and raifit a gret faction in England. He again wald not deny, bot he delt with many to won the fauour he mycht vnto the Quen his mestres, bot he wald do na thing that mycht offend the Quen of England ; and that he had commandement sa to do. Be this meanis, Mester Ruxbeis intelligences wer suppressit, and my brother sufferit to remane still in England ; wherby the Quenis frendis wer sa increasit, that many haill schyres wer redy to rebell, and ther captens alredy named be the election of the nobilite.

About this tym hir Maieste was aduertist be my brothers lettres, how that the Erle of Bedford was vpon his journey towardis Scotland, with ane honorable company, as also the ambassadours of France and Scauoy, for the baptesme of the Prince ; quhilk moued hir Maieste to pass to Stirling with the Prince, for the solemnisying therof. Bot sche was still sad and penywe, for the lait foull forfait committed in hir presens sa vnreuerently, sche being ther born Quen, and then in sic danger as to haue lost the fruit in hir womb. Sa many gret fches sche wald geue, as that it was pitie to heir hir, and ouer few wer cairfull to confort hir. Somtymes sche wald declair part of hir greifis vnto me ; quhilk I effeied to put out of hir mynd, be all possible perswasions, in telling hir

how I beleuit that the gretter multitude of frendis that fche had con-
kiffit in England, fuld haue caused hir forget in Scotland the leffer
number of ennemys and vnrewly offenders, vnworthy of hir wraith ;
and that hir excellent qualites in clemency, temperance and fortitud,
fuld not fuffer hir mynd to be fuppreft with the remembrance of tha
vill turnis ; bot rather to bend vp her engyn be a prencely and womanly
behauour, whereby fche may best wone the hartis of the haill people and
fubiectis, baith heir at hame and a feild ; humbly requesting hir Maiefte,
firft to confult with hir God, nyxt with hir honnour, and thridly with
hir weill, in the eftabliffing of hir eftait, and in junyng the kingdommes
of gret Bretagne in a happy monarchye, quhilk fche knawes to be fa
neir a point to be brocht to pafs in hir perfoun ; feing alfo the baniffit
eftait of the offenders fa miserable, not having a holl to hyd ther head
intill, nor a penny to by ther denner, that the maift noble natures wald
almaiſt think them fufficiently puniffit. How feamly it is till a Quen
to be pitifull, and a woman to want vengeance, I wald report to hir
awen jugement ; “ and whither it be meter prefently for your honour
and gretnes, to ceis fra the defyre or purfut of any farther reuenge,
whervpon may enfew maa deſpaired enterpryſes, or to geue plaice vnto
neceffite and raifown, to reull ouer the beaftly paſſions of the mynd.

P. 90 Wherefore ar princes callit diuyn perſonnes? Na prince may be callit
deuyn, bot fic as draw neir vnto the nature of God, be godlynes, gud
gouernement, redy to forgeue, and flaw to puneis. It is manifestly
knawen, that all wyſe princes haue na feud at ther ennemys, langer
than they ſe it may be neidfull for the weill of ther affaires and eftait,
and can chenge ther fauour and hattrent, according to the tym and oc-

cafions. Your Maieſte may remember, that many thingis mycht haue bene better handlit. I ſpeak this with loue and reuerence; your Maieſte mycht bene aſweill obeyed as euer was any king of Scotland, gene ye had tane ſic princely cair as was requiſit. Your Maieſte knawes, how that be your awen expreſs commandement, I ſchew yow lang before, what inconvenientis wer lyk to fall out, vpon the gruges and apperances that I perſauit, before the ſlauchter of Daid, and did what lay in my poſſibilite, as God is my witneſs, how to cauſe them be eſchewed and prevented; and ſen ſyn, your Maieſte repented that my oppinion for the tym was not folowed. I prey God that the lyk repentance fall not out ouer lait again. At my being in England, your aduerſaries wer beginnen to mak ther vantage, vpon vain bruitis that our weſterly wyndis had blawen eaſt amang them, that my brother and I had enough a do to ding it out of the headis of dyuers, that wer diuotiously addicted to the aduancement of your title.

This commonyng began at the entre of hir ſupper, in hir ear in Frenche, when ſche was caſten gret ſiches, and wald not eat for na perſuaſion that my lordis of Murrey and Mar culd mak hir. The ſupper being endit, hir Maieſte tok me be the hand, and paſt down throw the park of Stirling, and cam vp throw the town, euer raiſonyng with me vpon thir purpoſes. And albeit ſche tok hardly with them at the firſt, ſche began till alter hir mynd, and think meit that my L. of Bedford ſuld mak ſut for hir rebellis; they to be baniſſit out of England and Scotland during hir plefour, and to be better vnto them with tym, according to ther deportementis. And for hir part, ſche purpoſit to proceed with ſic a gracious gouernement, as mycht wone the victory ouer

hir felf, and all hir compeditours and ennemys in tymes commyng; as fche had done at hir firft hamecommyng, and quhilk fche culd do asweill as any prince or princes in Europe.

Bot allace fche had ouer euell company about hir for the tym. The Erle Bodowell had a mark of his awen that he fchot at. Sa fchone as he vnderftod of hir wyfe and marcifull deliberation, he tok occafion to be the inbringer of the Erle of Mortoun and his affociatis, to mak them his frendis and to fortifie his faction be them; for apperantly he had then alredy in his mynd, to perfourm the foull mourthour of the King, quhilk he pat in execuffion efterwart, that he mycht marry the Quen. Quhilk baith he brocht till pafs, to his awen vtter wrak and confufion; and brocht on alfo gret trouble and mifcheif into the contre, and was the Quenis wrak at the laft, and the hendrance of all our hope, in the hafte obteanyng of all hir defyres concernyng the crown of England, for a tym.

P.91. The Quenis Maieftie being aduertift, that the Erle of Bedford was com to Barwick, that far agaitwart to com fordwart to the baptesme, fend me, weill accompanied, with deligence to meit hym at Codingame; to be his firft convoy, and to inform him richtly of all hir proceadingis, and to ouerthrow all euell bruitis invented be the malice of hir ennemys; all this of my awen head, be way of the lang familiarite that was betwen him and me. For as I haue faid, it wes a paruerfit tym, and the mair that the number of hir frendis increaffit in England, the ma praetyfes hir ennemys maid, and the monyer lyes they invented againft hir. Sa that the gud erle gaif me mair credit, than he did any wrang report that was maid; and was at this tym becom ane of the fureft and maift loving frendis that fche had in England. Ther cam

with him Mester Caro, eldest sone to my L. of Hunisdain, Mester Hattoun, gretest in fauour with the Quen of England for the tym, and ane callit Mester Ligniche, of all vther gretest in fauour with the Duc of Northfolk, and a gud number of knychtis and gentilmen of Yorkschyre, with the maist part of the captens of Barwick. Hir Maieste was sufficiently informed, be my brothers wretingis to hir and me, what kynd of langage and enterment was meatest to be vsed and halden to the erle, Mester Caro, Mester Hattoun, and Mester Ligniche.

And when all the rest of the ambassadours wer com, they enuyed to se the Englis men mair frendly and famylierly vsed than they; for then sche had mair ado with England than with France, and the Frenche erle that was sent was na courteour, bot a semple man; and Mons^r de Morat the Duc of Scauoyes his ambassadour, being far aff, cam efter the baptesme. During ther being in Stirling, ther wes daily banketing, dancing, and triumphe; and at the principall banket ther fell out ane gret eylest and gruge among the Englis men; for a Frenchman callit Bastien deuyfed a number of men formed lyk fattyres, with lang tailes and whippis in ther handis, runnyng befor the meit, quhilk wes brocht throw the gret hall vpon ane trym engyn, marching as apperit it alain, with musiciens clothed lyk maidins, playing vpon all fortis of instrumentis and finging of musick. Bot the fattyers wer not content only to red rown, bot pat ther handis behind them to their tailes, quhilkis they waggit with ther handis, in sic fort as the Englismen supponit it had bene deuyfed and done in derision of them, daftly apprehending that quhilk they fuld not seam to haue vnderstand. For Mester Hattoun, Mester Ligniche, and the maist part of the gentilmen desyred to sowp before the Quen and gret banket, that they mycht se the better the haill ordour and cerimonies of the triumphe; bot sa

ſchone as they ſaw the ſattires waging ther tailes or romples, they all ſet down vpon the bair flure behind the bak of the burd, that they ſuld not ſee themſelues ſcornit, as they thoct. Meſter Hattoun ſaid vntome, gif it wer not in the Quenis preſens and hall, he ſuld put a dagger to the hart of that Frenche knaiſ Baſtien, whom he allegit did it for diſpyt, that the Quen maid mair of them then of the Frenchemen. I excuſed the matter the beſt I mycht, bot the rumour was ſa gret behind the Quenis bak wher hir Maieſte ſat, and my L. of Bedford, that they hard and turnit about ther faces to wit what the matter menit. I ſchew them how that it was for the ſattiers ; ſa that the Quen and my L. of Bedford had baith anough ado to get them ſatiſſied. It fell out vnſhappely at ſic a tym, and the Engliſ gentill men committed a gret errour to ſeem till vnderſtand it as done againſt them ; bot my L. of Bedford was diſcret, and interpret all thingis to the beſt.

P. 92. My L. of Bedford was rewardit with a riche chaingze of dyamontis, worth twa thouſand crownis ; Meſter Caro with a chaingze of perle, and a ring with a fair dyamont ; Meſter Hattoun had a chain with hir Maieſteis picture and a ring ; Meſter Lignynce and fyue vther of qualite had all chaines. I wes commandit with many vthers to convoy them to the bound rod, and parted all very weill content and ſatiſſied with the Quenis Maieſte, bot lamented that they ſaw ſa little accompt maid of the King ; and my L. of Bedford deſyred me to requeſt hir Maieſte, to interteny him as ſche had done at the beginning, for hir awen honnour and aduancement of hir affaires ; quhilk I forget not to do at all occaſions.

+ Efter the baptisme and parting of the ambaffadours, hir Maieſte willing to put gud ordour vpon the borders, ſent the Erle Bodowell before,

wha in the chaise efter theues was hurt. Hir Maieſte paſt efterwart to Jedbrouch hir ſelf, wher the Erles of Bodowell and Huntly enterpryſed the ſlauchter of the Erle of Murrey ; bot the Lord Hum cam ther with forces, and preuented that enterpryſe. Hir Maieſte returnit be the Merſe, and deſyred to ſe Barwick a faraff, wher ſche was honored with many ſchottis of arteillerie ; and Sir Jhon Foſter warden vpon the Engliſ border cam ther, and conferrit with hir Maieſte for keping of gud ordour. In the mean tym that he was ſpeaking with hir Maieſte vpon horſbak, his curſour raiſe vp with his forther legges, to tak the Quenis horſe be the nek with his teeth, bot his forder feet hurt hir Maieſteis thy very euell. Incontinent the warden leighted aff his horſe, and fat down vpon his knees, craving pardone at hir grace ; for then all England bure hir Maieſte gret reuerance. Hir Maieſte maid him to ryſe, and ſaid that ſche was not hurt ; yet it compellit hir Maieſte to tary twa dayes at the caſtell of Hum, vntill ſche was weill again. The K. folowed hir about wher ſche raid, getting na gud contenance ; and therefore he paſt to Glaſco, where he fell ſeak for diſpleaſour, as was allegit, not without ſome bruit of ane il drink be ſome of his ſeruandis.

In the mean tym the Erle Bodowell rewled all in court, and brocht hame ſome of the baniſſit lordis, and packit vp a quyet frendſchip with the Erle Mortoun. Efter that hir Maieſte cam bak till Edenbrough, ſche renewed a frendſchip again betwen the Erle of Murray, Bodowell, Huntly, Argyll and vthers. Fra that, hir Maieſte paſt to Stirling to ſe the prince, and returnit again to Edenbrough ; where the K. was efterwart brocht and logit in the kirk of feild, as a plaice of gud ayre wher he mycht beſt recouer his health ; bot many

ane suspected that the Erle Bodowell had some enterpryse against him. Few durst aduertise him, because he tald all again to some of his awen seruandis, whawer not all honest. Yet my L. Robert Erle of Orkeney tald him, that gene he faired not himself haiftely out of that part, it wald coist him his lyf; quhilk he tald again to the Quen, and my L. Robert denyed that euer he spak it. This aduertiffement moued the Erle Bodowell to haift fordwart his enterpryse, and maid a train of poudier, or had maid ane of before, quhilk cam vnder the house wher the K. lay; and in the nycht blew vp the said house with the poudier. Bot it was spoken be a paige, that the K. was first tane fourth, and brocht down to a laich stable, wher a faruyet was stopped in his mouth, and smored be halding in of his end, and efterwart laid vnder a tre, and blew vp the house.

P.93. Every body suspected the Erle Bodowell, and they that mycht speak frely till vther said plainly that it was he. Whervpon he drew together a number of lordis to be a led assyse, wha clengit him, some for fear, and some for fauour, and the maist part for commoditie. This way being maid clean, he remanit still at court in gretest fauour. My L. of Murray was retirit from the court certane dayes of before. Hir Maiestie kepit hir chamber for a quhill. I cam to the chamber dur, the nyxt mornyng efter the mourther. The Erle Bodowell said, that hir Maiestie was sorowfull and quyet; for he cam fourth, and tald he saw the strangest accident that ever chancit, to wit the poudier cam out of the lust, and had brunt the Kingis house, and him self found lying dead a litle distance from the house vnder a tre; and willit me to ga vp and se hym, how that ther was not a hurt nor a mark in all his body. When I past ther to haue sean him, he was layed within a

chamber, and keped be ane Sandie Durem ; bot I culd not get the ficht of him.

The brut began to ryfe, that the Quen wald mary the Erle Bodowell, wha had a fex monethes of before married the Erle of Huntlies fifter, and wald part with his awen wyf. Wherat euery gud fubiect that loued the Quenis honour, and the princes furete, had fair hartis; and thocht hir Maiefte wald be difhonorit, and the prince in danger to be cutted aff be him that had flane his father ; bot few or nane durft fpeak in the contraire. Yet my L. Heres, a worthy nobleman, cam till Edenbrough weill accompanied, and tald hir Maiefte what bruitis were paffing throw the contre, of the Erle Bodowell murthering of the K., and how that fche was to mary him; requesting hir Maiefte, maift humbly vpon his kness, to remember vpon hir honnour and dignite, and vpon the furete of the prince, quhilk wald all be in danger of tincell incaice fche married the faid Erle; with many vther gret perfuafions, to efchew fic vtter wrak and inconvenientis as that wald bring on. Hir Maiefte maruelit of fic bruitis without purpos, and faid that ther was na fic thing in hir mynd. He askit pardone, and prayed hir to tak his honeft meanyng in a gud part, and tok his leaw immediately, fearyng the Erle Bodowell fuld get word therof. He had fifty horfe with him for the tym, and caufed his men by afmany new fpeires in Edenbrough, and raid hame.

And I was about to faid afmekle vnto hir Maiefte; bot in the mean tym ther cam a lettre to me fra ane Thomas Bifchop, a Scottis man that had bene lang in England, and was a gret perfwader of mony in England to fauour hir Maiefteis title, and vfed to wret oft vnto my brother and me informations and aduertiffementis. At this tym, he vfed

euen the lyk langage that my L. Heres had spoken, bot mair frely, because he was absent in another contre. He adiured me to schaw the said lettre vnto hir Maieste, declairing how it was bruted in England, that hir Maieste was to mary the Erle Bodowell, wha was the murtherer of hir husband, another wyues husband; a man full of reproch and grangoir, with many vther reproches that he allegit; quhilk bruitis he wald not beleue, ber aifone of hir noble wit and qualites, and of the honorable mark that sche schot at: And incaice sche married hym, sche wald tyn the fauour of God, hir awen reputation, the kingdomes England, Yreland and Scotland; with many vther diffuasions and exemples of histories, quhilkis wald be our lang to reherse. I had bene absent, and past to the court to schaw this letter vnto hir Maieste, protesting that sche wald tak it in a gud part.

P.94. Efter that hir Maieste had red the said wreting, sche gaif it to me again, without any mair speach; bot callit vpon the secretery Liddingtoun, and said to him that I had schawen hir a strange wreting, willing him also to se it. He askit what it culd be. Sche said, a deuyce of his awen, tending only to the wrak of the Erle Bodowell. He tok me be the hand and drew me apart to se the said wreting; and when he had red it, he askit what was in my mynd; and said, "Sa schone as the Erle Bodowell getis word, as I fear he fall, he will not fail to fley you." I sayed, it was a fair matter to se that gud princes run till vtter wreck, and nabody to foirwarn hir. He said, that I had done mair honestly nor wyfely. "I pray you," said he, "retire you with deligence, before the Erle Bodowell com vp fra his denner." Hir Maieste tald him at the first meting, with a condition that he suld not do me any harm; bot I was flowen, and was socht, bot culd not be

found, till my lordis fury was flaked; for I was aduertist that ther was nathing bot slauchter, incaice I had bene gottin. Wherat hir Maieſte was miſcontent, and tald him that he wald cauſe hir be left of all hir ſeruandis. Then he promyſed that he wald do me na harm; wherof I being aduertist, paſt again vnto hir Maieſte, and ſchew hir that ſche maid me never ſic a fault as to think that I had invented the ſaid lettre, aſſuring hir that it cam fra the ſaid Thomas Biſchop; and albeit it had not com fra him, I was myndit of dewty to haue ſaid my oppinion theranent, with all reuerence and humilite. Sche ſaid, matters wer not that far agaitwart; bot ſche had na will to enter in the termes.

Schortly efter, hir Maieſte paſt to Stirling; and in hir bakcommynge, betwen Lithco and Edenbrough, the Erle Bodowell wes in hir gait with a gret company, and tok hir Maieſte be the brydle. His men tok the Erle of Huntly, the ſecretary Liddingtoun and me, and caried us captywes to Dombar; all the reſt wer lattin ga fre. Then the Erle Bodowell boiſted to mary the Quen, wha wald or wha wald not; yea whither ſche wald hir ſelf or not. Capten Blaiketer that was my taker, allegit that it was with the Quenis awen conſent. The nyxt day in Dombar, I obteanit leaue to paſs hame. Efterwart the court cam till Edenbrough, and ther a number of noblemen wer drawen togither, in a chamber within the palice, wher they ſubſcryuit all, that the mariage betwen the Quen and the Erle Bodowell was very meit, he being weil frendſted in Lowdien and vpon the borders, to cauſe gud reull be keped; and then the Quen culd not bot mary him, ſeing he had rauiffit hir and lyen with hir againſt hir will. I can not tell how, nor be what law, he parted with his awen wyff, fiſter to the Erle of Huntly.

A litle before this, my L. of Murray had defyred liscence to pass in France. The secretery Liddingtoun had bene lang in suspition absent from court, and was brocht in again be my brother Sir Robertis persuation, for the gret credit and handling he had with many noble men in England, fauorers of hir Maiesteis title. Albeit that he had als gret credit and moyen him self, he wald therby eschew the maners of ambitious courteurs, wha wald haue all the thankis to them selues, and may not suffer a compaignion; he knew also that he was suspected, because the Erle Bodowell was his vnfrend. Alwayes he was brocht in again, and not lang efter, the Erle Bodowell thocht to
P. 95. haue slane him in the Quenis chamber, wer not that hir Maieste cam betwen and faued him; bot he fled the nyxt day, and taried with the Erle of Atholl. As for me, I taried not at court bot now and then; yet I chancit to be ther at the mariage. When I cam that tym to the court, I fand my L. Duc of Orkeney sitting at his supper. He said, I had bene a gret stranger; desyring me to sit down and sounp with him. The Erle of Huntly, the Justice Clark and dyuers vthers wer sitten at the table with him. I said that I had alredy sounped. Then he callit for a coup of wyn and drank to me, that I mycht plege him, lyk a Dutcheman. He bad me drink it out till grow fatter, "for," said he, "the zeall of the commoun weall has eaten you vp, and maid you sa lean." I answerit, that euery litle member fuld serue to some vse; bot that the cair of the commoun weill appertenit maist till him and the rest of the nobilite, wha fuld be as fathers to the fame. Then he said, I wist weill he wald find a pin for euery boir. Then he fell in purpos of gentilwemen, speaking sic filthy langage, that [I] left him and past vp to the Quen, wha was very glaid of my commyng.

The mariage was maid in the palice of Halrudhouse, at a preach-

ing be Adam Bodowell bishop of Orkeney, in the gret hall for the
confaill vses to fit, according to the ordour of the reformed religion;
and not in the chapell at the mess, as was the Kingis mariage. Efter
the mariage, he that was Erle Bodowell, and now Duc of Orkeney,
was very earnest to get the Prince in his handis; bot my L. of Mar,
wha was a trew nobleman, wald not delyuer him out of his custody;
alleging that he culd not, without consent of the thre estaitis. Yet he
was sa oft prest be them that had the autorite in their handis, that
he was put to ane strait, efter that he had maid dyuers refuses; that
he maid his mean to me amang vthers, preing me to help to saif the
Prince out of ther handis wha had slain his father, and had maid his
vant alredy amang his famyliers, that gif he culd get him anes in his
handis, he suld warrant him fra reuenging of his fathers death. I
said, that I wald wis that it lay in my power to mak any help in that.
He askit, gif I culd find any outgait. I answerit, that I had gud ac-
quantance with Sir James Balfour, and that I knew how matters stod
betwen him and the Erle Bodowell; for I vnderstod be the lard of
Whytlaw, that ther was some jelousies and suspitions ryfen betwen
them. I assured him, as the said lard tald me, that the Erle Bodowell
wald haue the house out of his handis. The Erle Bodowell and he had
bene gret compaignons, and being also gret with the Quen, he gat the
keping of the castell of Edenbrough; bot efterwart wald not consent
to be present, nor tak plane part with the mourthour of the K.;
wherby he cam in suspicion with the Erle Bodowell, wha durst not
credit him na mair; sa that he wald haue had the castell out of his
handis, and to haue maid the lard of Beinstoun capten therof. This
my L. of Mar maid ane of his excuses, that he saw not a fur house to
kepe the Prince, incaice he wald delyuer him.

Whervpon I tok occasioun at my retourning to Edenbrough, to deall with Sir James Balfour not to part with the castell; wherby he mycht be ane instrument to faif the Prince, to faif the Quen, wha was sa difdanfully handlit, and with sic reprochefull langage, that Arthour Askin and I being present, hard her ask a knyf to stik hirself, "or elis," said sche, "I fall drown my self." Now said I to Sir James Balfour, that ther was na surete for him to be out of suspitioun, but to kep the castell in his awen handis, and to be that gud instrument to faif baith Quen and Prince, in P.96. assisting the nobilitie wha wer about to crown the Prince, and to persew the Erle Bodowell for the Kingis mourther. And without he tok part with them therintill, he wald be halden as airt and part of the said mourther, be raisoun of his lang famyliarite with the Erle Bodowell; and that it was a happy thing for him, that the said Erle was becom in suspitioun of him; assuring hym that I had intelligence, be ane that was of the Erle Bodowelis conseill, to wit, the lard of Whitlaw, for the tym capten of the castell of Dumbar, that the Erle Bodowell was determinit to tak the castell of Edenbrough fra him, and mak the lard of Benstoun, Hebrown, capten therof, and then to put the Prince ther in his keping.

Sir James Balfour gaif ear incontinent to my proposition, and consented to help to persew the mourtheror with the rest, sa that the lard of Grange wald promyse to be his protectour, incaice the nobilitie mycht alter vpon him; for he and many of them had run contrary courses of before, sa that he durst not credit them. The Erle of Mar being aduertist heirof be his brother Alexander Askin, wha was trew and cairfull for the Prince saiffete, and cam secretly to me at midnycht; for the dayes wer dangerous for all honest men. Now my

L. of Mar being continowally requyred and boisted to delyuer the Prince out of his handis, at lenth granted; with condition, only to drywe tym, that ane honest responceable nobleman fuld be maid capten of the castell of Edenbrough; because he saw na vther sure house to kepe him intill, he fuld delyuer him vnto the Quen his mother; quhilk he was not myndit to do, sa lang as he mycht resist. Albeit, he was not a gud discimulaire, bot thocht it a meit answer, to drywe a litle tym, and suage the present fury, vntill the nobilite mycht convene to persue the mourther, and to crown the Prince, as they had alredy concludit at a secret meting amang them selues. Quhilk was not sa secret, bot that ane of the saidis lordes maid aduertisment therof to the Erle Bodowell, how that they wer myndit to enuyron the palice of Hallirudhouse, and tak him therein. Wherupon he forget the futting of the Prince, and was only cairfull how to saif him self; therefore he fled out of Edenbrough to the castell of Borthuik, and from that to the castell of Dombar, taking alwayes the Quen with him wher euer he went.

All Scotland cryed out vpon the foull mourther of the King; bot few of them wer cairfull how to get it reuengit, till they wer dryuen therto, be the crying out of all vther nations generally against all Scottismen, wher euer they trauelit other be see or land. Amang vther princes, the K. of France send heir to his ambassadour, Mons^r du Crok, a graif agit and discret gentilman, aduancit be the house of Guise, a wreting meruelen that sic a foull mourthour being committed in the persone of a king, sa few honest subiectis wer found apperantly to find falt with the fame; far les to fut any sure tryall, and to se the fame puniffit. Whervpon the lordis that had the enterpryse in ther headis,

wer haifted fordwart to tak armes; and in the mean tym they obligit them felues be ther handis wretis, quhilk they delyuerit vnto the faid Mons^r du Croc, to fend vnto the K. his maifter, that they fuld do ther vttermaift diligence to try out the authours of that foull mourther of ther King; and in the mean tym convenit to the number of thre thoufand men, and cam firft till Edenbrough, and ther fet out a proclamation of ther juft quarell. Also findre lybelis wer fet out, baith in rym and proife, pitifull and perfwasywe, to moue the hartis of the haill fubiectis to affist and tak part with fa gud a caufe. The Erle Bodowell again, having the Quen in his company, convenit a greter nomber out of the Merfe and Lowdien, and out of all partis wher he P.97. had moyen or frendfchip, at ouer hir Maieftis proclamation, quhilk was not weill obeyed for the tym; and fa many as cam, had na hartis to feicht in that quarell. Yet the Erle Bodowell marched fordwart out of Dombar, taking the Quen with him, towardis Edenbrough. The Lordis again, with ther companyes, paft out of Edenbrough vpon fut, with a gret ernestnes and fercenes to fecht; baith the armyes not far fra Carbarry. The Erle Bodowelis men camped vpon the hill head, in a ftrenth very aduantageous; the lordis camped at the fut of the hill.

Albeit hir Maiefte was ther, I can not name it to be hir armye, for many of them that wer with hir, had oppinion that fche had intelligence with the lordis; cheifly fic as vnderftod of the Erle Bodowelis mishandling of hir, and many indignitez that he had baith faid and done vnto hir, fen ther mariage was maid. He was fa beaftly and fufpitious, that he sufferit hir not to pafs ouer a day in patience, on making hir caufe to fched aboundance of falt teares. Sa part of his awen company detefted him; vther part beleued that hir Maiefte

wald fayn haue bene quyt of him, bot thocht schame to be the doer therof directly hir self.

In the mean tym the lard of Grange raid about the bra, with a tua hundreth horfmen that cam ther with Dromlenerick, Ceffurd and Codonknowes, thinking to be betwen the Erle Bodowell and Dombar; and was myndit to mak ane onfet that way that was plain and euen, in the mean tym, that the lordis fuld com vp the bra, to the part wher ther aduerfaris wer camped. When the Quen vnderftod that the lard of Grange was cheif of that company of horfmen, fche fend the lard of Ormestoun to defyre hym to com and fpeak with hir, vnder furete; quhilk he did, efter he had fend and obtenit leawe of the lordis. As he was fpeaking with hir Maiefte, the Erle Bodowell had apponted a foldiour to fchut him, vntill the Quen gaif a cry, and faid that he fuld not do her that schame, wha had promyfed that he fuld com and return faifly. For he was declairen vnto the Quen, how that all they wald honour and ferue hir, fa that fche wald abandon the Erle Bodowell, wha was the mourtherer of hir awen hufband; and culd not be a hufband vnto hir, that had bot laitly married the Erle of Huntleis fifter.

The Erle Bodowell harkenit and hard part of this langage, and offerit the fingular combat to any man that wald mentean that he had done it. The lard of Grange promyfed to fend him ane answer fchortly theranent. Sa hetok his leaue at the Quen and pafte down the brate to the lordis; wha wer content that the lard of Grange fuld feicht with him in that quarell, for he offerit hym felf firft, and fend vp word that he wald chelenge him and feicht with him in that quarell. The Erle Bodowell anwerit, that he was nother lord nor erle, bot a barroun, and fa culd not be his

pere. The lyk answer be maid to Tullibarden. Then my L. Lyndfay offerit to feicht him, quhilk he culd not planly refuse, bot his hart cauldit ay the langer the mair. Then the Quen sent again for the lard of Grange, and said to him, that gene the lordis wald do as he had spoken to hir, sche fuld put away the Erle Bodowell and com vnto them. Wherupon he asked at them, gif he mycht promyse it to hir Maieste in ther name ; quhilk they willit him to do. Then he raid vp again, and saw the Erle Bodowell part, and cam down again, and assured the lordis therof ; whom they desyred to pass vp again to the hill, and refaue hir Maieste ; wha met hym, and said, " Lard of Grange, I render me vnto you, vpon the conditions ye rehearfit vnto me in the
P. 98. names of the lordis ;" and gaif him her hand, quhilk he kiffit, and led hir Maieste be the brydill down the bra vnto the lordis, wha cam forward and met hir ; the noblemen vsing all dewtyfull reuerence, bot some of the rascallis cryed out dispytfully, till the lard of Grange drew his sward, and sa did some vthers that knew ther dewtie better, and straik at sic as spak vnreuerent langage, quhilk the nobilite allowed weill of.

Hir Maieste was that nycht convoyed to Edenbrough, and logit in the midis of the toun, in the proueftis loging. As sche cam throw the toun, the commoun people cryed out against her Maieste at the windows and staires, quhilk was a pitie to heir. Hir Maieste again cryed out, to all gentilmen and vthers that passed vp and down the cassay, declairing how that sche was ther natywe princes, and douted not bot all honest subiectis wald respect hir as they aucht to do, and not suffer hir to be mishandlit. Vthers again schew ther malice, in setting vp a banere or enseigne, whervpon the K. was painted lying dead vnder a

tre, and the yong prince fitting vpon his knees, preing, "Juge and reuenge my cause, O Lord."

That fame nycht, it was allegit that hir Maieſte wret a lettre vnto the Erle Bodowell, and promyſed a reward to ane of hir kepers, to ſe it ſurely convoyed to Dombar vnto the ſaid Erle; calling him hir dear hart, whom ſche ſuld never forget nor abandoun for abſens, and that ſche ſend him away only for his ſaffetie, willing him to be confortd, and to be vpon his gardis; quhilk wreting the lown delyuerit vnto the lordis, efter he had promyſed to do the contraire. Vpon the quhilk lettre, the lordis tok occaſion to ſend hir to Lochleuen to be kept, againſt promyſe as ſche allegit; and they again affirmyng, that be hir awen hand wret ſche had declaired that ſche had not, nor wald not, leaue nor abandoun the Erle Bodowell. Grange again excuſed her, alleging that ſche had left the ſaid Erle in effect, and that it was no meruell that ſche gaif him yet a few fair wordis; not dowting bot ſche being diſcretly handled, and humbly admoniſſit what inconvenientiſt that man had brocht vpon hir, ſche wald leaue him be degrees, and deteſt him or it wer lang. They ſaid again, that it ſtod them vpon the ſurete of ther lyues and landis; and when that tym cam, that ſche mycht be knawen to abandoun and deteſt the Erle Bodowell, it wald be tym then to raifoun vpon the matter. Grange was yet ſa angry that, wer not that lettre, he had left them inſtantly; and for the nyxt beſt, vſed all poſſible deligence to mak hir and them baith quyt of the ſaid Erle; cauſing mak redy twa ſchippis till folow efter the Erle Bodowell, wha was firſt fled to the Caſtell of Dombar, and fra that failed to Schetland.

In the mean tym, hir Maieſte ſend a wreting vnto the Lard of Grange, out of Lochleuen, lamentyng that promyſe was broken vnto

Some ſuſpectit this lettre to bene in-vented.

hir; wherunto he answerit, that he had alredy reprochit the lordis for the fame; wha fchew vnto him a wreting, fent be hir vnto the Erle Bodowell, promyſing amang many vther fair and comfortable wordis, neuer till abandoun nor forget him. Quhilk gif it wes wreten be hir Maieſte, as he culd ſkaircely beleue, it had ſtopped his mouth; merueling, that hir Maieſte confiderit not, how that the ſaid Erle culd not be hir lawfull huſband, being ſa laitly before maried with another, tha he had left without any cauſe of partiffing, albeit he wer not ſa hatted for the mourthour of the K. hir huſband; requeſting hir Maieſte to put hym clean out of hir mynd, or elis ſche wald neuer get the loue and obedience of hir ſubiectis; with many vther humble and loving admonitions, quhilk maid hir bitterly to weep; for ſche culd not do it ſa haſtely, quhilk lenth of tym brocht till paſs.

P. 99. Now the Lard of Grange tua ſchippis being in a redines, he maid faille towardis Orkeney; and na man was ſa frak to accompany hym as the Lard of Tullibardin, and Adam Bodowell Biſchop of Orkeney. Bot the Erle was fled from Orkeney to Schetland; wher alſo they folowed him, and cam in ſicht of Bodowelis ſchip; quhilk moued the Lard of Grange to deſyre the ſkyppers to heis vp all ther ſailes, quhilk they wer laith to do, becauſe they knew the ſchallow ground therabout. Bot Grange willing to com a tym, compellit the mariners; ſa that for ouer gret haift, the ſchip wherin Grange was, brak vpon a bed of ſand, without tincell of a man. Bot Bodowell had leaſer in the mean tym to ſaif himſelf in a litle boit, leaving his ſchip behind him; quhilk Grange tok, and therwith the Lard of Tallow, Jhon Hebroun of Bowtown, Dagleis and dyuers vthers of the ſaid Erlis ſeruandis. Him ſelf fled to Denmark, wher he was tane and keped in ſtrait preſone, wherin he becam mad and died miſerably. Bot Grange cam bak again with Bodowelis

fchip and faruandis, quhilkis wer the first that gaif maist knowlege of the maner of the mourthour ; quhilk the lordis thocht meit to let the K. of France vnderstand, and of ther deligence, as they had promysed of before, be a lettre wreten in Frenche as foloues.

“ Sire, dedans peu de jours apres que ceste horrible tragedie qui est aduenue en ce pais, de la mort dufeu roy, mary de la Royne nostre souveraine, par lettres que nous dispeschames a lheure a vostre Maieste, nous nous sommes obligees de nous mettre en debvoir pour descouvrir les auteurs d’un si execrable miffaict ; esperans bien avec le temps donner si bon ordre, que nous ferions bien paroistre quil y a des gens de bien en Escosse, qui detestent lindignite du faict, et ne permettront jamais eux viuans qui cest malheureuse enterprinse demeure impunie.

“ De puis ce temps la, par lettres adressantes aux estats de ce pays, presentees par vostre ambassadeur Mons^r du Croc, vostre Maieste nous a ramontre ceste promesse, nous mettant deuant les yeux la grande hunt que ce nous feroit a jamais, si vn faict si enorme, perpetre en la persone du roy, demuraist cache. Ceste remonstrance, joincte avec tant d’aduertissements que nous receuons de jour a autre, des Escossois qui sont espars par les pays estrangers, nous a feruy d’esperon pour nous faire entreprendre lenquest dudiect meurtre, qui par trop a este differe, de fort que toute ceste nation en est aucunement dishonore. Len la nous mande de tous cestez, que les Escossois, tant en France qu’allieurs, se sentent tant interessees, oyans taxer toute la nation, que pour honte ils n’osent leur le visage ; ains sont contraincts quasi de defaduouer leur patrie, voyants la nonchallance ou connivence de ceux a qui le fait touchoit le plus ; ou pour mieux dire, La Royne par voies difordonees

et illicites, reduicte en la puissance du principal meurtrier. Nous auons a la longue este contrainctz, pour purger le royaume de ceste ignominie publique, de nous mettre ensemble, avec intention de descouvrir les auteurs et executeurs dudit meurtre. Enquoy dieu nous a si bien fauorise, qu'encores que lon auoit dresse la menee fort secretement, si nous est a ceste heure le fait assez entendu, de fort quil ne sen faut plus enquerir qui a tue le roy. Car entre beaucoup des presumptions, et circonstances vehementes, que des le commencement rendoit le conte de Bodowelle assez suspect, et que ses deportements depuis ce temps la estoient bastants pour donner a entendre avn chascun quil auoit dresse le party; nous sommes maintenant plus esclaireys par la confession de ses gens mesmes, qui dieu nous a mis entre les mains, et qui pour lauoir suyuy accompaignie et assiste au fait, en peuuent bien deposer de la verite, et des circonstances. Par le tesmoignage desquelz, joinct avec d'autres preuues, il est tout notour que le dict Conte de Bothuelle non seule-

P. 100. ment a faiet la menee, mais aussy pour mieux jouer son personnage, et de peur de faillire, luy mesmes a assiste en personee, y a mis la main, et este present a lexecution.

“Des occurrences de puis, et comme le tout est passee, vostre ambassadeur Mons^r du Croc pourra plus amplement aduertir vostre Maieste, comme celluy qui pour estre employe pour vostre seruice pardeça, nous auons voulu infourmer au longue de la justice de nostre cause. Suppliants treshumblement vostre Maieste, du prendre en bonne part nostre resolution, fondee sur tant des causes legitimes, et ne vous laisser persuader a ceux qui, pour laffection quilz portent au meurtrier, voudront peut estre deprouuer noz actions, et vous donner a entendre que nous aspirons a des choses a quoy nous ne y auons jamais pensee. Quant a

nous, vostre Maieſte ſe pourra bien affurer, que nous ne ferons jamais que le debvoir des gens de bien, et quil ne y a ſubieſts en Eſcoſſe qui, de meilleur coeur, ſ'efforceront de tant qui fera en noſtre puiffance, et ſelon le moyen que dieu nous a donnee, de ſeruir a vostre Maieſte, et de conſeruer l'union des deux coronnes, que ſi longue temps a continue au grand proffit et ſeurete de toutes les deux; comme nous ferons toujours paroître par effect, quand vostre Maieſte nous fera ceſte honneur de nous commander quelque choſe pour ſon ſeruice."

P. 101. My Lord of Murray had obtenit liſcencetopaſſin France, ſchortly eſter the mourther of the K.; for he foirſaw the gret troubles that wer able to fall out vpon the ſame; for he had promyſed never to com in the Quenis contraire.

The reſt of the Lordis enterpryſers, eſter that they had put the Quen in Lochleuen, began to conſult how to get hir Maieſte parſuadit to demit the gouvernement to the Prince hir ſone; and to that effect they delt firſt with my brother, becauſe he had acces ſome tymes to ſee hir Maieſte. Eſter that he had reſuſed platly to medle in that matter, they wer myndit to ſend the L. Lindſay, firſt to uſe faire perſuaſions, and incaice he cam na ſpeid, to enter in harder termes. The Erles of Atholl, Mar, and ſecretary Liddingtoun, and the lard of Grange, wha louit hir, aduyſed my brother to tell hir the verite, and how that any thing that ſche dois in priſoun, can not preiuge hir, being at liberte. He ſaid, he wald not perſuad hir, nor ſpeak nathing bot as hir trew and faithfull ſaruand; alwayes, he ſaid, he ſuld tell hir the oppinion of ſa many as wer hir frendis. Bot ſche reſuſed vtterly till ſolow ther aduyſe therintill; bot when ſche hard that the Lord Lindſay was at the

newhouse, and was upon a boisting humour, sche yeldit to the necessity of the tym, and schew my brother that sche wald not strywe with them, feing it culd do hir na harm when sche was at libertie. Sa at my L. Lindfays commyng, sche subscrywit the signatour of renunciation and demission of the gouvernement to the Prince; and certane lordis wer named in the said signatour, to be regentis to the Prince and contre, euery ane efter vther; hir Maieste desyring my L. of Murray, wha was absent in France, to be the first regent.

This being past, the lordis concludit to crown the Prince; and send lettres in France for the Erle of Murray to com hame. In the mean tym, ther was a number of lordis convenit at Hamiltoun, as my L. Hamiltoun, my Lord of Pacely, Jhon Hamiltoun bischop of Santandrowes, my L. Flemyng and Boid, and vthers dyuers. To whom the lordis that wer to crown the Prince wald haue send me; quhilk commissioun I refused at the first, till the secretary Liddingtoun, lard of Grange, and vthers secret fauorers of the Quen, aduyfed me to tak in hand; alleging that it was meit to jun all the contre togethir in quyetnes, and said that incaice that ciuell warres entret amang our felues, that it wald put the Quenis lyf in danger; for they that wer at Hammiltoun, apperit to lean unto the Quen. At my commyng to Hammiltoun, I tald them my commissioun, in the name of the vther lordis; how that the K. being mourtherit, all nations nybours cryed out vpon the haill nation, bot specially the K. of France and Quen of England admoniffit them to tak tryell and to punis the mourtherers. How they had found that it was the Erle Bodowell, wha was fled, and some of them that had assisted him puniffed; and what was past sen fyn therupon, was manifest to the haill contre. Now the Quenis Maieste had demitted ouer the

gouvernement to the Prince hir sone, whom they were myndit to crown schorly ; wherof they thocht meit to warn all the nobilitie, as being myndit to hurt na man, nor to prejugé any nobleman in ther rychtis, tytles, or prerogatyues ; requesting them that wer ther conuenit, to com to Sterling and be present at the said coronation, for ther awen preueleges, weill and quyetnes of the haill contre.

P. 102. Some of the yongest lordis answert and said, that they wald not beleue that the Queuis Maieste had demitted the gouvernement ; and gene sche had done it, it wald be found for fear of her lyf. Bot the bischop, that was better experiment, reproved them, and said that it was a very raifonable and discret dealing of tha noblemen ; and drew the rest apart till aduysse, and then cam again ; and he declaired ther answer and said.

“ We ar behalden to tha noble men wha has sent you with that frendly and discret commiffion ; and folowing ther desyre, ar redy to concure with them, gif they mak us sufficient securite of that quhilk ye haue said in ther name. In sa doing, they geue us occasioun to suppon the best of all ther proceadingis past and to com ; sa that gene they had maid us foirsean of ther first enterpryse, to the puniffement of the mourther, we suld haue tane plane part with them. And wheras now we ar heir conuenit, it is not till persue or offend any of them ; bot to be vpon our awen gardis, vnderstanding of sa gret a concourfe of noblemen, barrons, bourroues and vthers subiectis. Not being maid preuy to the enterpryse, we thocht meit to draw us togither, till we mycht se whertu thingis wald turn.”

When I returnit bak to Stirling, and declaired the answer, quhilk wasthocht very gud be all wyse and paiceable myndit men ; bot vthers said again, that howeuer they myndit to do, I had panted out a faire

taill for them and in ther faubours. Sa that I perfauit them alredy deuydit in factions and in oppinions ; for samany of our lordis as leanit to England, defyred not the stabilitie of our estait ; others had particulairs against the Hammiltouns, and supponit to get them wraked, therby to won vantages be fisching in dromly watters. Sa that the Hammiltouns wer euell vsed then ; for they wald fayn have agreed with the rest, bot ther frendschip and societe was planly refused at this tym, and wer not admitted to com vnto the coronation, nor yet to tak instrumentis that they fuld not be prejudged in any sort ; quhilk maid gret trouble efterwart in the contre. For they perfaving them selues casten aff, and ther frendschip and assistance refused, maid the moyen and practiques that they mycht, for ther awen surete and deffence ; and sic vther noblemen as fauoured them, and wer not yet junit with the new enterpryses, wer the easelyer drawen vpon that fynd, that wer efterwart callit the Quenis lordis, when they vnderstod of sic disdainfull proceeding with the Hammiltouns.

My Lord of Murray, wha was wreten for to com hame, as I haue fayed, sa schone as he cam to Londoun, aduertisment was maid vnto the lordis ; wha defyred me to ryd and meit him at Berwik, and schaw him how that the office of regency was appointed for hym. Quhilk voyage I accepted with the better will, that some frendis that wer best inclynit, thocht meit to geue him gud counsaill in dew tym. The commission fra the lordis was to inform him of all ther proceedingis, and of the present estait ; and to will him do nathing by them, specially with the Quen. For they fearit that he wald do, as any vther wyse man wald haue done, in respect that he had not offendit the Quen of lait, that he mycht perchance keip hir in hand, in gud hope some day

of releif, and not run fa hard a courfe againft hir, as the maift part of them wer myndit to do.

P. 103. Another fort of the faidis lordis, that bure ftill a gret loue vnto the Quen and had compaffion of hir eftait, and had entred vpon that enterprys only for the faiffety of the Prince, and puniffement of the Kingis mourther, as the Erle of Mar, the Erle of Atholl, the fecretary Liddingtoun, the lardis of Tullibarden and Grange, fend ther instructions with me to my L. of Murray; praying him in ther name, to bear him gently and humbly vnto the Quen, and to get fa mekle fauour of hir as he culd. Not that they wald wifs hym forget any part of honeft dewty to the lordis, fa lang as they kepit tuechis with hym; bot that incaice that they, or part of them, wald ftart at him efterwart, for the refufell of fome cafualite, benefice or for fome vther particulars, they wald com to them felues again, feing the Quen and hym in fa gud termes, for fear that he wald fet hir to libertie be occafion of ther misbehauour. And farther, that hir Maiefte being now fre of euell company, and of a clear wit and princely inclynation, was begynnen alredy to repent hir of many thingis paff, the tym mycht bring on fic ane occafion, that they wald all wifs hir at libertie to reull ouer them; then what had he tint, for his difcret and frendly behauour to hir.

He apperit to lyk very weill of this aduyfe, and promyfed that he fuld folow it fourth, howeuer it wer; bot to accept vpon him the regiment, he wald not grant at the firft, bot refusit it planly. Albeit, I was infourmed with fome of his company, that he was rycht glaid when he firft vnderftod that he fuld be Regent. Ther cam hame with him a Frenche ambaffadour of my acquaintance, callit Mons de Lingueroles.

He was send to se the fassion, to confort the Quen captywe, and to request for hir; bot slenderly, for he said to the lordis, that he cam not till offend any of them; alleging that the auld band betwen France and Scotland, was not packit vp with any prince, bot betwen the estaitis of France and Scotland, and with them that wer commanders ouer the contre for the tym.

Efter that my L. of Murray had met with all his frendis, he granted to accept the regyment. Bot when he past to se the Quen in Loch-leuen, in steid to confort hir, and to folow the gud counsaill that he had gottin, he entrit instantly with hir Maieste in reproches, and sic injurious langage as was lyk to brek hir hart; and sa many of us as fand falt with that maner of proceeding, tint his fauour. The injuries wer sic, that it cutted the thred of loue and credit betwen the Quen and hym for euer.

Ye haue hard how that the lordis that wer in Hamilton wer casten aff, and refused to be accepted in societe with the rest, against the oppinion of the fewest nomber, wyfest men and least factious. Bot the worst inclynit and manyest votes obteanit ther intentis; wherupon the lordis that wer refused in frendschip, drew them selues together at Dombartan, vnder the coulour to procure be force of armes the Quen ther foueranis libertie; and bandit them selues together against the Kingis lordis, whilk they wald not haue done, gif they culd haue bene accepted in societe with the rest.

P.104. Albeit that, the publik professing of the saidis lordis to wair all ther lyues for the Quenis liberte, pat hir Maiesteis lyf in greter danger sa lang as sche was captywe in the handis of ther contrair partie, and at lenth was hir Maiesteis vtter wrak. For the hope that sche had to get

frendis and fauourers anew, causet her mak hir moyen to eschaip outt of Lochleuen ouer hastely, or euer the tym was ryp anough to restore again the hartis of the subiectis that wer yet allianit; for albeit my L. Regent was rygorous, he was facill, and mycht haue bene won with proces of tym be hir wisdome, and the moyen of hir frendis that wer in his company.

THE COPIE OF THE BAND MAID AT DOMBERTAN BE THEM
THAT WER CALLIT THE QUENIS LORDIS.

“For famekle as confidering the Quenis Maieste our fouerane to be detenit at this present in Lochleuen in captiuite, wherthrow the maist part of hir Graces lieges can not haue fre acces to hir hyenes for doing of ther leifull busynes, and be raifoun it becommes us, of our dewty, to fut hir liberte and fredome; We erles lordis and barrons vnderfubfcryuit, promittis faithfully to mak our exact diligence, be all raifonable meanis, to fut hir Maieste to be put to liberte and fredome, vpon sic honest conditions as may stand with hir hyenes honour, the commoun weill of this haill realm, and securite of the haill nobilite of the samyn; and with the securite of the noblemen wha presently has hir Maieste in keping; wherthrow this our natywe realm may be gouernit, rewled and gydit, be hir Maieste and hir nobilite, for the commoun quyetnes, adminiftration of iustice, and weill of the contre. And incaice the noblemen wha has hir Maieste presently in ther handis, refuses to put hir to liberte, vpon sic raifonable meanis and conditions as faid is, in that caice we fall employe our selues, our kyn and frendis, seruandis and partakers, our bodyes and lyues, to put hir hynes to libertie as faid is; and alse to concure to the puniffement of the mourther of

the K. hir Maieſteis huſband, and for ſur preferuation of the perſone of the Prince, as we ſall anſwer to God and on our honours and credit; and to that effect ſall concure, euery ane with vther, at our vtter power. And gene any ſall put at us or any of us for the doing of the cauſes foirſaidis, in that caice we promit faithfully to tak eſauld part, euery ane with vther, vnder the pain of perjurye and infammye, as we will anſwer to God, as ſaid is. In witnes of the quhilkis, we haue ſubſcryuit this preſent with our handis. At Dombartan the day of

St Androwes. Argyll. Huntly. Arbroith. Galloway.
 Roſs. Flemyng. Lord Herys. Skirling. Kilwynnyng.
 Willyem Hammiltoun of Sancher Knycht."

Thir few number wer the firſt that bandit them ſelues together; and efterwartis all them that wer malcontentis, or had any particulair queſtion, clame or feid, with any of the Kingis lordis, drew to thir new confideratis; hoping with tym to won ther intent againſt ther aduerſaries, incaice ther faction mycht preuail; and ſome drew to baith the factions, that defyred never to ſe nother K. nor Quen in ane eſtabliffit eſtait.

P. 105. The court of England, again, left nathing ondone to kendle the fyre, and to fourniſh baith the factions with ſome hope of aſſiſtance in a neid. For oft tymes, by ther ambaffadour ordinair that was reſident heir, they vpon ſome new occaſion wald ſend in another, oppenly to deall with the kingis faction, becauſe it was ſtarkeſt and greteſt; and vnder hand to deall with the Quenis faction, and allege that ther quarrell was maiſt juſt and rycht, and that hir Maieſteis authorite was

only lawfull. Na man can tell this better nor I, that was fa lang acquainted with all the ambaffadours that wer fend in Scotland for the tym, during ther baniffement in France in the tym of Quen Mary; as with Mafter Randolphe, Sir Nycholas Througmorton, Mefter Dauifoun, Thomvorth, . . . Drury . . . and the Marchall of Barwik. Amang the quhilk number, Sir Nycholas Througmorton delt maift honeftly and planly; for he fchot at the vnion of this haill yll in ane monarchie, and thocht that it confifted only in the perfones of twa for the tym, to wit, the Quen and King hir fonne. And when he faw Mafter Randolphe go about to faw difcord, he declaired the fame to my brother and me, and detefted him for his deuellifch intent and dealing. Yea, he detefted the haill confail of England for the tym, and tald us frendly what reafonyng they held amang them felues to that end; to wit, how that ane of ther fynest confellours proponit openly to the reft, that it was neidfull for the weilfaire of England, to foster and nurifh with fome help the ciuill wairres, afweill in France, in Flanders, as in Scotland; wherby England mycht kep many aduantages, and be futed and focht of all the parties; and in the mean tym lywe in reft, and gather gret riches them felues. This aduyfe and propofition was weill allowed of the maift part of the confaill, yet a honeft confellour ftod vp, and faid that it was a very warldly aduyfe, and had litle or nathing ado with a chriften commown weall, nor 3et wald not be found proffitable in all pointis. "Firft," he faid, "fpeaking warldly and not godly, I grant that France, quhilk is fa potent a kingdome, gene it knew the awen ftrenth, mycht fuppreff all ther neighbours, and therfoire wald be fa handlit; bot ther the fyre wald dye out incontinent, except the Prince of Conde wer better fourniffit and

helpit." As for Flanders, he said that ther trouble was hurtfull to England, be raifoun that England hes gretest commoditie be the traffic of marchandise, quhilk is henderit and stayed be the warres of Flanders, wher they had cheiffest handling. As for Scotland, he said it was against their weill to hald them in discention, sa lang as my lord of Murray wes ther Regent, wha was ther frend, and wald be redy to assist them in a neid at his power. Another thrid confellour affirmed that to be trew; bot gene my L. of Murrey wer dead, lykways Scotland aucht to be halden gangen. Quhilk conclusion wes commenly folowed fourth efterwart; schone persauit be the wyfest that wer not factious, bot ouer lait be the rest of the raging multitude, wha wer with tym sa bitterit against other, and sa annymat or the pley wes endit, that they wald haue eaten vther with ther teeth.

P. 106. Now my L. of Murray having accepted the gouvernement vpon him, preffit to get the strenthes in his handis, as the castellis of Edenbrough, Dombar and Donbertan. The castell of Edenbrough wes still in the handis of Sir James of Balfour, wha had assisted the noblemen that perseued the mourther, and now tok plane part with them, and lykwayes to assist the new maid Regent. Yet the Regent desyred to haue the castell out of his handis; quhilk he was content, with condition that the lard of Grange suld be maid capten therof, on whais constant frendship he reposed maist; quhilk wes easely granted be the Regent and all the rest. Efter this, Dombar was also renderit to him, be the lardis of Whitlaw and Wachtoun. Then he tok gret panes to steall secret raidis vpon the theues, and held Justice aires in the Incontre; bot tok na cair how to fetle the differentis and partialites amang the nobilite, and to draw them, be ane discret and equitable be-

hauour, to the obedience of the Kingis authorite. Quhilk mycht haue bene easely done, letting them se securete for ther personnes, and outgaitis for the weall of ther affaires and actions. Bot sic as fell about hym, for ambition and gredines, wald not suffer hym sa to do, thinking to be maid vp be the wrak of vthers ; and wer sa blindit be ther affections and gredy appetitis, that they thocht all wald succeid prosperously to ther pretences without any resistance. Sa rusching forward, the Regentis ruch proceadingis, vncirconspectly and prouydently gaif occasion to many to draw to the contrair faction ; and to mak practyses how to draw the Quenis Maieste out of Locheleuen, before the tym was rype to set fordward ther particularites against the Regent and his partisans. Wherof the Regent was oft and dyuers tymes warnit, euen be dyuers that wer vpon the consaill of hir out taking, wha de-fyred to won thankis at his handis ; bot he wald credit nane, bot sic thingis as com out of the mouthes of them that had copen in his consceat and fauour be flatterie.

In the mean tym, the Quen was convoyed out of Lochleuen be George Douglas, the lardis brother and the Regentis half brother, wha was for the tym in some euell termes with them. The auld lady his mother wes also thocht to be vpon the consaill. My L. Ceatoun, and some of the houe of Hammiltoun, and dyuers vthers of ther dependers, refaut hir Maieste at hir landing out of the loch, and convoyed hir to Hammiltoun.

The Regent being for the tym at Glasco halding Justice aires, proclamations and missywes wer incontinent maid, and fend be baith the fydis to conven samany as wald do for them in the contre. Ane Frenche ambassadour wes com to Edenbrouch ten dayes before, callit

Mons^r de Beaumont, knyght of the ordour of the cocle; who I had conveyed to Glasco, and procured that he mycht se the Quen captywe, in vain. He said to me that he neuer saw so many men convenit so suddenly; for he raid to Hammiltoun to the Quen, and delt betwen the parties for paice, bot was not hard. Hir Maieste was not myndit to feicht, nor hazard bataille, bot to pass vnto the castell of Dombertan, and draw hame again to hir obedience, be litle and litle, the haill subiectis. Bot the bischop of St Androwes and the house of Hammiltoun, with the rest of the lordis that wer ther convenit, finding themselves
P. 107. in number far beyond the other party, wald nedis hazard the battaill; wherby they mycht ouercom the Regent ther gret ennemy, and be also maister of the Quen, to command and reull all at ther plesour. Some allegit that the bischop was myndit to cause the Quen marry my L. Hammiltoun, incaice ther fynd wan the victory; and I was informed sen syn, be some that wer present, that the Quen hir self fearit the same. Therefore sche preffit them still to convoy hir to Dombertan, and had send me word with the Frenche ambassadour, also caused my brother Sir Robert to wret a letter unto me, the same mornynge before the battaill, to draw on a commownynge for concord, be the meanis of the secretary Liddingtoun and the lard of Grange; and for hir part, fuld send the Lord Heris and some vther. Bot the Quenis army cam forduart so fercefully that ther was na stay.

The Regent went out vpon his fut, and all his company, saving the lard of Grange, Alexander Hum of Manderstoun, and some borderers to the number of tua hundreth. The lard of Grange had alrede vewed the ground, and with all possible diligence caused euery horsman tak on a futman of the Regentis gard behind them, and raid with speid to

the head of the Langfyd hill, and fet down the said futmen with ther culuerings at a strait lon head, wher ther wer some coit houffes and gardis of gret aduantage; quhilkis soldiours, with ther continuell fshot, dropped down dyuers in the vangard led be the Hamiltons, wha for ther curage and fearcenes ascending wp the stay bra, wer alredy out of wind when the Regentis vangard junit with them; wher the worthy L. Hume facht vpon fut, with his pik in his hand, very manfully, weill affisted be the lard of Sefford his gud brother, wha helpit him vp again, when he was striken to the ground aff his feit, with many straikis vpon his faice, with the castyng of tume pistoles efter they wer fshot, also with staues and flacons, and many straikis with spaires throw his leggis. For he and Grange cryed, at the juning, to let ther aduersaries lay down first ther spaires, to bear vp thers; quhilk spaires wer sa thik fixit in vthers jackis, that some of the flacons, pistollis and gret staues that wer thrawn be them that wer behind, mycht be sean lyand vpon the spaires.

Vpon the Quenis fyd, the Erle of Argyll commandit the battaill, and the lord of Arbroith the vantgaird. On the vther part, the Regent led the battaill, and the Erle of Mortoun the vantgaird; bot the Regent committed vnto the lard of Grange, the speciall cair, as ane experimented capten, to ouerse euery danger, and to ryd to euery wing, and encourage and mak help wher gretest neid was. He persauit at the first junyng, the rycht wing of the Regentis vantgard put bak and sattill lyk to fle, wherof the maist part wer commons of the barronnye of Ranthrow. He cam to them, and tald them that ther ennemys wer alredy turnyng bakis, that wer behind the rest, and requested them to stay and debait, vntill he had fetched them fresche men fourthe of the

battaill; wher he raid in diligence his allain, and tald the Regent, or allegit that the ennemys wer skailen and fleing away behind the litle vilage, and defyred a few number of fresche men till com with him; wher he fand anew willing, as the Lord Lindsay, the Lard of Lochleuen, Sir James Balfour and all the Regentis faruandis, that folowed him with deligence, and renforced that wing quhilk was beginnen to fle. Quhilk fresche men, with ther lowse weapons, straik ther ennemys in ther flankis and faces, quhilk forcit them incontinent to geue place and turn bakis, efter lang fechting and pouffing vthers tu and fra with ther spaires. Ther wer not many horfmen till perfew efter them, and the Regent cryed to faif and not fla, and Grange was never crewell; fa that ther wer bot a few flane and tane, and the only flauchter was at the first renconter, be the schot of the foldiours that Grange had planted at the lon head behind some dykis.

Efter the tincell of this battaill hir Maieste tint curage, quhilk sche did neuer befoir, and tok fa gret fear that sche rested neuer vntill sche was in England; thinking hir self assured of refuge ther, in respect of the many fair promyses maid be the Quen of England, be wordis to hir ambassadours, and be wretingis with hir awen hand, baith before and efter that sche was kepit captyue in Lochleuen. Bot God and the world wottes how sche wes keped and vsed; for not only sche wald not se hir of whom sche seamed fa oft to defyre a ficht and a meating, bot also caused kep hir prifonner, and at lenth [*twik her lyf*] sufferit hir lyf to be tane, or elis was subtilly tane against hir intention.

This puttis me in remembrance of a taill that my brother Sir Robert tald me, the tym that he wes busyest dealing between the twa Quenis, to interteny ther frendschip, and draw on ther meting at a part besyd

York callit . . . Ane Baffentin a Scottis man, that had bean trauelit, and was learnit in hich fcyences, cam to him and faid ; “Gud gentilman I hear fa gud report of yow that I loue yow hartly, and therefore can not forbear to fchaw yow, how that all your vprycht dealing and your honest trauell wilbe in vain, wher ye beleue to obtean a weall for our Quen at the Quen of Englandis handis. Ye bot tyn your tym ; for firft they will neuer meit together, and nyxt ther will neuer be bot difcembling and fecret hattrent for a whyll, and at lenth captyuite and vtter wrak for our Quen be England.”

My brother's anfwer again was, that he lyked not to heir of fic deuelifch newes, nor yet wald he credit them in any fort, as falfe vngodly and vnlawfull for Chriftiens to medle them with. Baffentin anfwerit again; “Gud Mefter Meluill, tak not that hard oppinion of me. I am a Chriftien of your religion, and feares God, and purpofes neuer to caft my felf in any of the vnlawfull artis that ye mean of, bot fa far as Melanthon, wha was a godly theologue, has declaired and wreten anent the naturell fcyences, that ar laufull and daily red in dyuers Chriftien vniverfites; in the quhilkis, as in all vther artis, God geues to fome les, to fome mair and clearer knowlege then till vthers; be the quhilk knowledge I haue alfo that at lenth, that the kingdome of England fall of rycht fall to the crown of Scotland, and that ther ar fome born at this infant that fall bruk landis and heritages in England. Bot alace it will coift many ther lyues, and many bludy battailes wilbe fochten firft or it tak an fattede effect; and be my knowlege,” faid he, “the Spaniartis wilbe helpers, and will tak a part to themfelues for ther labours, quhilk they wilbe laith to leaue again.”

P. 109. Efter that the Quenis Maieſte had demitted the gouvernement, when ſche was captywe in Lochleuen, in ſic maner as is rehearſed, my L. of Murray being the firſt of the Regentis, of whom I haue ſaid ſome thing alre dy ; I intend now till folow fourth and ſchaw a part of his proceedingis, and to begin wher I left, at hir Maieſteis retrait in England.

Efter the battaill of Langfyd, the ſaid Regent paſt throw the contre, and tok vp the eſcheitis and houſes of them that had aſſiſted at the ſaid battaill ; and cauſed caſt down dyuers of ther houſes, and diſponit all ther landis to his ſeruandis and dependers.

The conſaill of England being crafty, and the ſecretary Cicill in ſpeciall, knew what kynd of commodious men had maiſt credit about him for the tym ; and thervpon tok occaſion to deall with the leaſt honeſt, maiſt ambitious and gredy of the nomber and ſociete, that had junit and bandit them ſelues together to hald hand to other, wherby to mak them ſelues vp, and to diſgrace all honeſt trew men that had euer aſſiſted and helped him in all his troubles. Thir fort of men wer ſchone perſuadit and corrupted to moue the Regent to paſs in England, and accuſe ther natyue Quen before the Quen and conſaill of England, to the gret diſhonour of ther contre and Prince. For the Quen of England, wha had na juſt cauſe to retean the Quen, wha paſt in England in hope to get refuge, and the aſſiſtance quhilk had bene ſa oft promyſed vnto hir, baith before and efter hir captiuitie in Lochleuen, was very deſyrous to haue ſome coulour, wherby ſche mycht mak anſwer

to the ambaffadouris of findre princes, that reprochit hir for hir vnkyndly and vnprincely proceeding theranent.

Because the maist part of them that had the Regentis ear wer won to this oppinion, and the nomber few that wer of contrary oppinion, he past fordwart till England, accompanied with the Erle of Mortoun, the Lord Lindsay, the lard of Lochleuen, the bischop of Orkeney, the abbot of Domfermeling, Maister James Magill, Mester Hendry Belnaves, Mester George Buchwhannen, the lard of Pittarrow, George Douglas bischop of Murray, Mester Jhon Wod the Regentis secretaire, a gret ringleader, Mester Nycholl Elphinstoun; the secretaire Liddingtoun, the prouest of Lynclowden, Alexander Hay, Alexander Hum of Northberwik, the lard of Cleische, with dyuers vther barrons and gentilmen, that past ther to se the maner, and some to await vpon the Regent and lordis; and some that culd not get the Regent disswadit fra this extream folly at hame, past with him in England, to se gene be any assistance of sic as wer frendis ther to the vnyon of this yll, and to the title of Scotland, mycht perchance mak them some help to get the accusation stayed. For they that wer the Quenis lordis, that cam ther to deffend the Quenis part, had na credit nor famyliarite with the cheif factions in England anent the tytle; wha durst not open ther myndis, bot to fic as, be lang acquaintance, they wer weall assured of ther honestie and secrecie. The names of the Quenis lordis wer, the Lord Heris, the Lord Boid, the Lord Flemyng, the Lord Lyuistoun, the bischop of Ross, and some vthers, with my brother S^r Robert Meluill, ane onwaiter to do the gud he culd.

P. 110. The Duc of Norfolk, the Erle of Suffex, Sir Walter Mylmy, and fendre vther consellours, wer fend down to York, to heir the Regentis accusation, and to be as juges betwen the King and Quenis lordis.

The first day of meting, the Duc of Norfolk requyred that the Regent fuld mak homage, in the Kingis name, to the crown of England; thinking he had some matter for him, feing the said Regent ther to pled his cause before the confaill of England. Wherat the Regent grew red, and wist not what till answer; bot the secretery Liddingtoun tok the speache, and said, that in reftoryng again till Scotland the landis of Huntingtoun, Commerland, and Northumberland, with sic vther landis as Scotland had of auld, that glaidly fuld homage be maid for the saidis landis; bot as to the crown and kingdome of Scotland, it wes freer then England had bene laitly, when it payed St Peters peny to the Paip.

It appearit still that the Duc draue tym with us, as having na will till enter vpon the termes of accusation. What was in his head it appearit efterwart, bot was in a dout whom with to deall; for he thocht he nother saw honest men nor wyse men, as he granted him self efterwart. At last he resoluit to enter in conference with the secretery Liddingtoun, to whom he said, that he had of before estymed him a wyse man, vntill now that he cam before strangers till accuse the Quen his mestres, as thoch England wer juges ouer the princes of Scotland. How culd we find in our hartis to dishonour our Kingis mother, or how culd we answer of our dewty efterwart, doing what he culd to parell the Kingis hir sonnes richt of England, in traueling to put his mothers honestie in dout? It had bene rather the dewtie of them hir subiectis, to couer hir imperfections, gene siche had any; remitting vnto God and the tym to punisch and put ordour, wha is the only juge ouer princes.

Liddingtoun, as he mycht weall do, purgit him self, and sayd he cam ther to essay to stay the said accusation, quhilk the lard of Grange, he

and dyuers vther honest men, had trauelit to do in vain, before the Regentis commyng out of Scotland; and that now he wald be glaid of any help, to hender that schamfull deliberation of the Regentis, pouffit therto be a company of gredy, rasche and cairles confellours, the maist part of them his enuyers and secreet ennemys; preing the Duc not to conceaue such aneuell oppinion of him, bot requested hym to draw the Regent a part, and enter with him in tha termes, quhilk efterwart the Regent wald schaw him, and he fuld amplifie and set it out the best he culd.

P. 111. The Duc askit gene the Regent wald kep secreet; and when he was assured theroff be Liddingtoun, the nyxt day he tok occasion till enter with the Regent anent ther first frendschip and familiarite, contracted at Leith during the seige and helping to put the Frenchemen out of Scotland. Then efter that the Regent had promysed secrecie, and assured him that ther first frendschip fuld stand to the end of his lyf, the Duc began to declare, how that he wald be a faithfull subiect to the Quen his mestres so lang as sche lyued, bot that sche was a woman, ouer cairles what mycht com efter hir anent the weall and quyetnes of hir contre; quhilk neuertheles was meit the estaitis of England fuld tak some ordour with, as they had essayed dyuers tymes to do at euery parlement, to the Quenis gret discontentement, as one that caireth not what blud may be sched efter hir, for the rycht and title of the crown of England, quhilk consistis only in the personnes of the Quen, and King of Scotland hir sonne. Quhilk had bene put out of dout or then, gene matters had not bene sa vnhappely handled at hame; and yet he and vther noblemen of England, as fathers of the contre, ar myndit to be cairfull; meruelen what mycht haue moued him to com ther, and ac-

cuse his Quen. Albeit sche had done or sufferit harm to be done vnto the K. hir husband, ther was respect to be had vnto the Prince her sonne; quhilk he for his part, and many in England had, as Mester Meluill wha had bene lait ambaffadour ther culd testifie; and therefore wiffit that the Quen fuld not be accused nor dishonorit, for the K. hir sonnes cause, and for the respect of the rycht they baith had to succed vnto the crown of England. And farther the Duc said, "I am fend to heir your accusation; bot nother will the Quen my mestres, nor I, discern nor geue out any sentence vpon your accusation; and that ye may vnderstand the verite in this point mair clearly, ye fall do weall, the nyxt tym that I requyre you before the counsaill to geue in your accusation in wret, to demand again the Quen my mestres seall and handwret, before ye schaw your foly, that incaice ye accuse, that sche fall immediatly convict and geue out hir sentence; otherwayes that ye will not open your pak; quhilk gene hir Maieste fall refuse to grant vnto you, quhilk vndoubtedly sche will do, then assure your self that my information is rycht, and tak occasion therupon to stay fra farder accusation.

The Regent tok very weill with this aduyse of the Ducis, and kepit it secret from all his company; bot maid the secretary Liddingtoun and me preuy to it, and we confirmed him weall in this oppinion. At the nyxt meating with the counsaill, when the Duc demandit the accusation to be geuen in, the Regent askit, for his securete, the Quen of Englandis seall and handwret, as was aduyfed; wherof the rest of his faction gaif Liddingtoun the haill wyet, because it drew on a delay vntill the post was sent to the court and com bak again; and the Quenis answer being com bak, was, "Sche was a trew princes; hir

word and promyse wald be sufficient anough." The secretary Cicill and Mester Jhon Wod secretary to my L. Regent, thocht strange of this maner of the Regentis proceeding; therefore caused him and the lordis of baith fydis to pass fra York vp to the court, a far way; ther the mater to be traied, wher the Quen was abler to geue redy answers and replies. In the mean tym, the Regent finding the Duc of Norfolkis confaill to be trew, enterit farther with him, and agreed betwen them, in presens of Liddingtoun, as folowes: "That he in wayes fuld accuse the Quen, and the Duc fuld obtean vnto him the Quenis fauour, with a confirmation of the regency; the Duc and he to be as sworn brether, of a religion, schutting continowally at a mark, with the mutuel intelligence of others myndis; the ane to reull Scotland, and the other to reull England, to the glory of God and weall of baith the princes and ther contrees; sa that the posterite fuld reput them the happyest twa instrumentis that ever was bred in Britany."

The Duc was then the grettest subiect in Europe, not being a fre prince; for he rewled the Quen and all them that wer maist famyliers with hir; he rewled the confaill, and rewled twa contrary factions in England, baith protestantis and papistis, with the town of Londown and haill commons; the gret men that wer papistis, were all his neir kinsmen, whom he enterteined with gret wisdome and discretion; the protestantis had sic proif of his godly lyf and conuersation, that they loued him entirely.

P. 112. The Regent being arryued at the court of England, quhilk wes for the tym at Hamtoncourt, wes daily preffit to geue in his accusation; specially be them that wer about him, wha all thocht strange that he was sa laith to do it, vntill they wer aduertist be ane of the lordis of

the Quenis fyd, of all that wes past betwen the Regent and the Duc of Norfolk. For the Duc had fend and aduertist our Quen, be a secret man; and sche again schew it to ane of hir maist famyliers, wha aduertist the Erle of Mortoun; wha tok it in a very euell part, that the Regent had not made him preuy, nor nane of that societe, how far he had delt and promysed vnto the Duc of Norfolk. Bot first, or them of his awen company wald seam to understand any thing of that matter, they layed ther headis together, and caused Mester Jhon Wod to inform the secretary Cicill; and willit him to pres fordwart the accusation, wherin he wes earnest enough. They again left nathing vndone for ther part to the same, putting him in hope that the Quen wald geue him hir hand-wret and seall, to convict incaice he accused; and some of the fynest of them perswadit him, that sche wald neuer geue hir hand-wret nor seall, bot pat him till a strait to se what he wald do, incaice he obtenit his desyre. And Master Jhon Wod said, that it was meit to cary in all the wretis to the consaill house, and he suld keip the accusation in his bosome, and suld not delyuer it without all conditions wer also kepit to him. The rest of the Regentis lordis and consellours had concludit among them, that sa schone as the Duc of Norfolk, as cheif of the consaill, wald inquire for the accusation, that they suld all with a voice cry and perswad the Regent to ga fordwart with it. The secretary Liddingtoun and a few vthers remembrit the Regent, how far he had obligit him self to the Duc of Norfolk. He said he suld do weal enough, and that it wald not com that far agaitwart.

Sa schone as he with his consaill wer within the consaill house, the Duc of Norfolk askit for the accusation. The Regent desyred again the assurance of the conviction, be wret and seall, as said is. It was an-

swerit again, that the Quenis Maieſteis word, being a trew princes, wald be ſufficient anough. Then all the conſaill cryed out, wald he miſtruſt the Quen, wha had geuen ſic proif of hir frendſchip to Scotland. The Regentis conſaill cryed out alſo on that ſame maner. Then the ſecretary Cicill aſkit, gene they had the accuſation ther. “Yes,” ſaid Meſter Jhon Wod (with that he pluckis it out of his boſome); “bot I will not delyuer it vntill hir Maieſteis handwret and ſeall be delyuerit to my lord.” Then the biſchop of Orkeney cleakis the wret out of Meſter Jhon Wodis handis. “Let me haue it, I ſall preſent it,” ſaid he. Meſter Jhon ran efter him, as gene he wald haue had it again, or ryuen his clais. Fordwart paſt the biſchop to the conſaill table, and gaue in the accuſation. Then ſaid to him my Lord Willyem Hauvert, chamberlan, “Weill done, biſchop Turpy; thou art the frackeſt felow amang them; none of them all will mak thy loup gud;” ſcornen him for his lowping out of the lard of Grange ſchip. Meſter Hendre Belnaves only had maid reſiſtance, and callit for the ſecretary Liddingtoun, whataried without the conſaill houſe; bot ſa ſchone as Meſter Hendre Belnaves had callit for him, he cam in, and roundit in the Regentis ear that he had ſchamed him ſelf, and pat his lyf in parell by the loſs of ſa gud a frend, and his reputation for euer.

P. 113. The Regent, wha had bene brocht be his facilite to brek with the Duc of Norfolk, repented him again ſa ſchone as Liddingtoun had ſchawen him the danger, and deſyrit the accuſation to be renderit to him again; alleging that he had ſome mair to add vnto it. Bot they ſaid, that they wald hald that quhilk they had, and wer redy to receave any vther addition when he pleaſit to geue it in. The Duc of Norfolk had anough ado to keip his contenance; Meſter Jhon Wod winket vpon

the secretary Cicill, wha fnyled again vpon him; the rest of the Regentis company were lauchen vpon other; the secretary Liddingtoun had a fair hart. The Regent cam fourth of the confaill house with the tear in his eye, and past to his loging at Kingiftoun, a myll from court, wher his factious frendis had anough ado to comfort him.

The Quen of England having obteanit hir intent, receaued gret contentement. First sche thocht sche had matter for hir, to schaw wherefore sche reteanit the Quen; then sche was glaid of the Quenis dishonour; bot sche detested in hir mynd the Regent and all his company, and wald not ken him, nor hear any mair of him. Sche sent also incontinent to the Quen to confort hir, preing hir to think that sche was in a better caice ther, albeit keaped for a whyll, nor to be in Scotland with sa unworthy subiectis, wha had accused hir falsly and wrangeously, as sche was affured; and that neyther fuld they be the better, nor sche the war, for any thing that they had done; for sche wald not be juge, nor geue out any sentence therupon, nor nane fuld knawe, be hir or hir conseill, na part of the said false accusation; preing hir to tak patience in hir gentill ward, wher sche was nerer at hand to get the crown of England fet vpon hir head, incaice of hir discese, wha was bot the eldest sifter.

Thus the Regent wan na vther thing for his labour, bot to be dyspyfed by the Quen and confell of England, and detested be the Duc of Norfolk, and reprochit be his best and treuest frendis; and sufferit to ly a lang tym at Kingiftoun, in gret displeasour and fear, without money to spend, and without hope to get any fra the Quen. In the mean tym, the maner of agreement betwen him and the Duc was tald vnto the Quen; for the Erle of Mortoun caused a minister, callit Jhon Willok,

to declair the dealing betwen the Regent and the Duc of Norfolk to the Erle of Huntingtoun, wha caused my L. of Leycester tell it vnto the Quen.

The Duc of Norfolk finding him self disapointed be the Regent, and his purpos discouerit vnto the Quen, began to boist and speake plane langage, that he wald serue and honor the Quen his mestres sa lang as sche lyued, bot efter hir discese, he wald set the crown of England vpon the Quen of Scotlandis head as lawfull heir; and this far he said also to Mester Cicill, and bad him pass and prattle that langage again to the Quen. The secretary Cicill answerit agane, that he wald be na teller to the Quen of him, bot wald concur with him in any course, and serue him in any thing wherin he wald employ him. He boisted also Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, whom he supponit wald be in his contrair, as a trew and deuot seruand to the Quen; sa that Sir Nycholas was fayn efterwart to seake his fauour, be the moyen of the Erles of Penbrough and Leycester, wha was also his frend, albeit he durst not hyd fra the Quen that quhilk the Erle of Huntingtoun had maid him aduertisement of, willing him to declare the same vnto the Quen.

P. 114. The Duc of Norfolk, vnderstanding that his haill purpos was discouerit, stod na aw to confesse vnto the Quen, that he wald never offend her for hir tym, bot serue and honour hir; and efter hir, the Quen of Scotland, as maist lawful in his oppinion, for eschewing of ciuill warres and gret bludshedding, that mycht vtherwayes fall out. Albeit the Quen of England lyked not this langage, sche wald not seem to find falt with it for the tym.

Now matters being casten lowse on this maner, betwen the Regent and the Duc, and the Regent in gret distrefs, Sir Nycholas Throgmor-

toun, being a man of gret discours, and wha had euer trauelit to the vnion of this yll, efter that he was agreed with the Duc, and saw that the Erles of Leycester, Penbrugh, secretery Cicill, and the rest of the court and commons wer all for the Duc, and that the Quen durst not find falt with him, he deuyfed and brocht till pafs a new frendschip between the Regent and the Duc; wha was very laith to enter again with the Regent, yet at lenth sufferit him self to be persuadit. My L. Regent, on the other part, being destitute for the tym of all frendschip in England, and indigent of money, thocht it a gret happynes vnto him gif he mycht get again the Ducs fauour and pardon. Sa he wes brocht easely and secrety vnto the Duc be Sir Nycholas; at what tym he granted his offence, excusing him self the best he mycht, vpon the craft and importunate of some of his company. The Duc helpit him to mak his excuses, alleging that he knew how that his gentill nature wes abused, be the craft and concurrence of some of the counsaill of England with them that wer about him; and gene he wald, in tymes comyng, kep tueches and be secret, ordour shuld be put vnto all them that had drawen on that dracht. The Regent promysed, as far as culd be deuyfed; sa that a greter frendschip was packit vp between them then ever it was. The Duc had of before tald him, that he was myndit to mary the Quen our mestres, and that he shuld neuer let hir com in Scotland, nor yet that he shuld neuer rebell against the Quen of England for hir tym; also that he had a dochter that mycht be meater for the K. then any vther, for many raisons quhilk wer set out for that purpos. Now the Duc tok in hand to cause the Quen his mestres geue vnto my L. Regent, xxv thousand pondis Scotis; for the quhilk soun he becam caution, and was efterwart compellit to pay.

Efter that my L. Regent had gottin this money, and tane his leaue of the Quen, he was aduyfed be fic as had yet gret credit about him, to tell the Quen fecretly all thingis that wer pafte of new again betwen the Duc of Norfolk and him. And to do it the mair couertly, it was deuysed that the Quen of England fuld fend for him, feamyng to geue him fome admonition anent gud ordour to be obferuit vpon the borders. This being done, and all thingis difcouerit to the Quen, with a promyse fa fchone as he cam in Scotland, and had refaut any lettres from the Duc be chiffers or vtherways, to fend them all in England with a man exprefs. In the mean tym the Duc wret vnto our Quen, aduertiffen hir again of the new frendfchip betwen him and the Regent, wha wes very penitent, and had bene difceaueid be craftier men nor him felf; willing hir to let him pafs by, without any harm to be done vnto him, or any of his be the way.

P. 115. At that tyme, the Duc commandit ouer all the north partis of England, wher the Quen our meftres was keped, and mycht haue tane hir out when he pleafit; and when he was angry at the Regent, had appointed the Erle of Westmourland to ly in his way, and cut aff him felf and fa many as wer bent to the Quenis accusation. Bot efter the laft agreement, the Duc fend and difchargit the faid erle to do ws harm; yet the erle cam in our way, with a company of faire horfe, to fchew that we wer in his mercy.

Efter the Regentis retournyng faifly in Scotland, Mefter Jhon Wod his fecretary procured, vpon the firft occafion, to be fend in England, with all the wretis that culd be gottin that mycht ferue till vndo the Duc of Norfolk; and defyred Mefter Hendre Belnaues to caufe the Regent geue him the bifchoprik of Murray, vaikant for the tym, no-

ther for ambition nor gredines of the rentis, bot rather that he mycht haue ane honorable ftyll, to fet out the better his ambaffage. The faid Mefter Hendre, being inded fic a man as Mefter Jhon wald appere to be, was very angry, and lyked him neuer efter that. My L. Lindfay, wanted him felf, that he was ane of the nomber that gaif the Regent confaill fa to do ; alleging that fic promyfes as wes maid vnto the Duc of Norfolk, for fear of his lyf, aucht not to be keped.

A whyll efter that Mefter Jhon was com bak in Scotland, weall rewardit for his trew traueling, the Duc wes fent for be the Quen to com to the court. . Wherupon firft he poifted ane in haift to the fecretary Cicill, to haue his confaill ; for he repofed then mekle vpon him, for they wer packit vp in a courfe. The other maid answer, that ther was na danger ; he mycht com and gang at his pleafour, na man wald nor durft offend him ; quhilk moued the Duc to ryd quyety, only with his awen trayn, wher vtherwayes he had bene weill accompanied. In the mean tym the fecretary Cicill infourmed the Quen, how that the necefite of the tym ftraited hir, not till omit this occafion till tak the matter ftoutly vpon hir felf, and command hir gard incontinent to lay handis vpon the Duc, or ellis na vther durft do it ; quhilk gene fche did not at this tym, hir crown wald be in parell. The Quen folowing this aduyfe, the Duc was tane and keped, when he thocht that all England wes at his deuotion ; wha efter lang captiuite was execut, and endit his lyf deuotly in the reformed religion.

Schortly efter Mefter Jhon Wodis returnyng out of England, ther was a gret Convention halden at Perth ; wher the Regent was myndit to accufe the fecretary Liddingtoun, for being of confaill with the Duc of Norfolk. Bot he had fa many frendis for the tym, that they durft

not lay handis on him; albeit fra that hour fourth, he reterit from court and remanit with the Erle of Atholl, wher the Regent entertained him with fair frendly lettres, and vpon a tym being in Stirling wret for him, to com and help to mak a dispasche to England; wher being com, Capten Crafford was directed to accuse him before the preuy counsaill of the lait Kingis mourther, and being accused of so odious a crym, was committed to ward.

P. 116. Sir James Balfour was also tane out of his awen house, when he lippenit for na les. Then my L. of Down wret vnto the Lard of Grange to be vpon his gardis; for the Regent wald tak the Castell of Edinbrough fra him, and mak the Lard of Dromwhafell capten; wherof he had aduertist the Lard of Grange of before, as also of the intention to tak the secretaire and Sir James Balfour. Bot he wald not geue credit therto at the first; bot now when he saw the aduertissementis tak effect, he began to think that the Regent wes led strangly, and wald haue bene content to want the castell and leaue the court, wer not the desyre he had to saif the lyues of the secretaire and Sir James Balfour, whom he knew to be wrangeously persewed, only be the malice and envy of ther ennemys for ther offices. Sir James Balfour being tane, fend vnto the Lard of Grang, remembring him how he junit with the lordis and Regent vpon the trust he had of his fidelite, mair nor till all ther seales and handwretis, quhilke he had till produce. Wherupon the Lard of Grange fend a gentelman to the Regent; bot the Regent purgit him self, and allegit the counsaill wer so bandit together against the secretaire and Sir James, that it lay not in his power to get them vnwardit, seing they wer accusit for the Kingis murther against his will, bot Grange fuld ken his honest part therin at meting; preing

him in the mean tym to suspend his judgement. Nevertheles the Regent and his confell wer determinit to pass fordwart, and tak the lyues fra the tua prifoners, till Grange send again and desyred the lyk justice to be done vpon the Erle of Mortoun and Mester Archebald Douglas; for he offerit to feicht with Mester Archebald, and the Lord Heris offerit to feicht with the Erle of Mortoun, that he was vpon the confell, and airt and part of the Kingis mourther. This stayed ther execution at that tym, and the Regent still allegit that the lordis had tane them against his will, and that he fuld send Sir James Balfour to the castell of Santandrowes, and fuld bring the secretaire Liddingtoun till Edenbrough, and delyuer him vnto the Lard of Grange to be keped. Sa the Regent cam till Edenbrough, and brocht the secretaire with him, intending as Grange was aduertist, to mak the said secretaire a steall guse to draw down Grange out of the castell to the town the nyxt mornyng, to receaue the secretaire to be convoyed vp to the castell; and then to retean Grange also, vntill the castell fuld be delyuerit vntill the lard of Dromquhafell to be keper therof, and to send Grange hame to his house, and reward him with the pryourie of Pittinweme. Bot the Erle of Mortoun had appointed four men to fley Grange, at the entre of the Regentis loging, by the Regentis knowlege. Bot Grange wes laith yet to trow the worst of the Regent, and being of oppinion that the Regentis gentill natour was forcit be the lordis, as he had send him word,

P. 117. and vnderstod that they wer myndit to cary the secretaire to Tamtalloun, he cam down out of the castell with a company, and rest the secretaire out of the handis of his keapers, and convoyed him vp to the castell. For he thocht, gif it be trew that the Regent said, wher he wes forcit be the lordis against his will to let the secretaire be reteanit efter

that he wes accused, now the Regent wald be glaid that he had reuengit his quarrell vpon the lordis, be taking the secretaire out of ther handis, quhilk he mycht justly allege that he knew not of; and that, gif the Regent wald be miscontent with his vptaking, it wald be a manifest token of his discembling and double dealing. In that caice, Grange thocht he did a guid deid, to saif his frendis lyf; and to beleue dyuers intelligences, quhilkis he wald not credit of before, and therefore to be vpon his gardis in tymes commyng.

The Regent and his confellours, when they vnderstod how that Grange had tane vp the secretaire to the castell, wer in a gret perplexitie, supponyng all ther confelis to be disclofit; and wist not how to help the matter, bot aduysed the Regent to couer his colair vntill a bettir occasion; causing him pass vp to the castell the nyxt mornyng, for he durst credit Grange. Bot Grange durst na mair credit him, albeit at meting he gaif him ma fair wordis then he was wont to do, quhilk Grange tok in ane euell part. Eftir this, ther wer many deuyces how to trap Grange sometym in his down commyng to the Regent; bot he wes ay aduertist and vpon his gardis. Sa as the Regent tint daly of his best frendis, the number of his ennemys increffit; for the Duc of Chattelleraut, wha wes agreed with him by the moyen of the Lord Heris, when the said Duc and the Lord Heris cam till Edenbrough, as was appointed at ther agreement, to concure with the Regent in confell and vtherwayes for the quytne of the contre, they wer baith wardit in the castell against promyse. Quhilk when the Lard of Grange fand falt with, Mester Jhon Wod said, "My lord, I maruell of yow; how fall we that ar my lordis dependers get rewardis bot be the wrak of sic men." "Yea," said Grange, "is that your halynes?"

I fe nathing bot ye, amang yow, for envy, gredines and ambiffion, ar lyk to wrak a gud Regent and contre." This was lang before the taking of the fecretaire, and increffit the hattrent of a wickit fociete againft Grange, wha mycht not abyd his honeftie, credit and reputation, thortering at all occafions ther parcialites; quhilk wes the falt alfo that they had againft the fecretary, and becaufe his wit excellit fa far abone thers. The captiuite of the Duc and my L. Heris, maid many vnfrendis, wha tok the greter baldnes to confpyre againft the Regent, when they perfaut him to tyn and caft aff his aldeft and beft frendis.

It was a fair thing to fe that gud Regent, anes fa weill inclynit to do gud offices in religion and commown weall, fa wryed and drawen efter vther mens vain pretences and affections; employeing therintill the haill tym of his regiment to his awen vtter wrak, to the wrak of many worthy perfonages, and to ther wrak at lenth that wer his leaders.

P. 118. The Regentis misbehauour throw euell confellours, as geuing ear only vnto flatterers, and wald not fuffer his trew loving frendis any langer to tell him the verite, maid many to coniectour that his wrak was at hand; and I amang vthers deuyfed a present remedy for his preferuation, whilk was this.

I knew that the taking vp of Liddingtoun to the caftell, fank deapeft in the Regentis hart. The falfe practyfes, and wrakful fetches of fic as had learnit the Regent to difcemble, moued Grange; and the geloufies raifed therupon betwen them, moued and gaif place to his ennemys till confpyre.

First, I requested the Regent to remember vpon the falfe practyfes that fome about him had findre tymes vfed of before, to his gret dif-

plefour ; and to confidder how they wer yet the caufe of all thir ey-leftis and fufpitions that wer fallen fourth betwen him and his frendis ; quhilk mycht encourage his ennemys to tak fome wicked enterpryfe in hand againft his perfone. For remedy wherof, it was meit that Liddingtoun fuld pafs in France, vnder caution of tuenty thowfand pondis, and neuertheles to geue his fone in plege that he fuld not com in Scotland without fpeciall leaue, nor praetyfe in any maner againft the prefent eftait. Sir James Balfour to be fet at liberte, or baniffit on the fame maner ; for he had alredy won the Regentis famyliers with gret fomme of gold, quhilk had ftanchd ther wraith againft him ; quhilk Liddingtoun wald not, albeit Sir James had fend him his aduyfe to do as he had done. Thir twa being fred and out of the way, the Lard of Grange fuld delyuervnto him the caftell of Edenbrough, to mak capten therof whom he pleafit ; that the haill contre mycht fe how that all wes in his power and at his command, and was the beft way and meanis to reduce again the oppinions of the people, and wald dafche and fkar his ennemys fra all ther desperat enterpryfes.

His anfwer was, that he bure na euell will to Liddingtoun, and wald not prefs him to pafs out of the contre. As for Sir James Balfour, he fuld put him to liberte ; and as for Grange, he wes ouer far oblift ynto him and had fa gret proif of his fidelite, that he was neuer myndit to tak the caftell from him ; and gif it wer out of his handis, he wald geue him the kepingtherof again before any vther. He denyed alfo that he was in any fufpition other of Grange or the fecretair : and thervpon paff vp to the caftell, and conferrit frendly with them of all his affaires, with a blyeth volt, and caften in many mirry purpofes of auld ftraits and dangers wherin they had bene togither. Sa he wes instructed to

discemle; and yet it fat him nocht, for it wes against his nature, and
P. 119. wes easely persaued be them whahad benefa langacquanted with him,
and had bene his cheif aduancers vnder God, the secretary be his wif-
dome, and Grange be his manlynes and fidelite; and had baith sic not-
able qualites, that they mirited to be enuyed of wicked and vnworthy
bodyes, wha be ther continowell flatterie and false reportis pat them
out of his fauour; and then lyk a weak hause wanting hir susteanyng
pillaires, he fell in decadence.

Him self was at the first of a gentill nature, weall inclynit, gud with
gud company, wyse with wyse company, stout with stout company, and
contrary wayes with vthers of the contrary qualiteis; sa that as com-
pany chancit to fall about him, his busynes gaid rycht or wrang. In
his first vpryng, his hap wes to leicht vpon the best sort; for in his
beginning, full of aduersite, trew honest men stak be him, because he
wes religiously brocht vp. Again when he wes Regent, flatterers for
ther proffit drew till him, and puist him vp in ouer gud oppinion of him
self. His auld trew frendis again wald reprove him, wherby they tint
his fauour. I wald somtymes say to him, that he was lyk ane vnkil-
full player in a keatchepoill, runnyng euer efter the ball; wheras ane
expert player wald se and dicerne wher the ball will leicht, wher it
will stot, and with small trauell will let it leicht in his hand or racket.
Thus I said, because he tok very gret panes in his awen persone to
small effect; efter he had gotten dyuers aduertissementis of his enne-
mys conspyracies, in vain; for he wald credit nathing bot it that cam
fra his famyliers, wha tald him nathing bot of faire wether, and of the
best gouernement that culd be, and sa pat him in a cairles securite;
quhilk encouraget the gud man of Bodowellhach, callit Hamil-

toun, to ly in his gait as he wes paffing throw Lithco and fshot hym, wherof he died that fame nycht. All his confellouris and famyliers wer afweill aduertist as he wes, baith of the man, the place and the tym; and yet wer fa cairles of him, that they wald not tak the panes to fearch the houle wher the man lay to fshot him, bot sufferit him to efchaip vpon a fpedy horfe.

I haue wreten this far of him, becaufe euery ane knawes not the verite how he was led out of the rycht way. And becaufe St Auguftin fayer that alkynd of yngnorance is nother worthy of pardone nor excufe, bot only fic as haue not the meanis to be inftructed, nor to get knowlege, I wes fometyms compellit to recit dyuers sentences of Salomon to this gud Regent, for fa he was and is yet callit; how that ane havy gok is ordonit for the fonnes of Adam, from the day that they go out of ther mothers wamb, till the day that they return to the mother of all thingis; from him that is clothed in blew filk, and weareth a crown, euen vnto him that weareth femple lynning; wraith and enuy, trouble and vnquytne, rygour and ftryf, and fear of death in the tym of reft. 2. Be delygent to know the eftait of thy flok; for the prince that fees bot with other mens eyn, and heares with other mens eares, mon nedis be yngnorant; and fic a prince is a gret oppreffour. Bot a wyfe king fkattereth the wicked, and caufeth the whell to wholme ouer them. That prince quhilk wantis the fur and certain intelligence of the eftait of his contre, is a very yngnorant in that caice, and is commonly maid a wicked instrument to fulfill the appetitis of enuyous vengeable and gredy confellours. And Salomon fayer, that for the tranfgreffion of fic wicked confellours, the land chenges many princis. And again, the prudent man feeth the plaig and efcheweth it, bot fules

go on still and ar puniffit. Wifdome, knaulege and vnderftanding of the law, is of the Lord; errour yngnorance and darkenes ar apponted vnto fynners, for punifmentis and plaiges. The foolifche will beleue euery thing, and the mouth of fules is fed with fulifhnes; bot the prudent will confidder his paithes, and can perfaue how that fome ar confellouris for them felues. Therefore, fayes Salomon, I wifdome duell with prudence, and can find fourth the rycht knaulege of confelles. As P. 120. gene he wald fay, I that haue wifdome purifeid with prudency, will not be fa eafely caried away be flatterers, as ar a number of facill princes that promot them abone faithfull frendis and trew faruandis, that reproue them for ther vnfeamly proceadingis. Againft the reull of Ifo-crates, wha admoniffit his King to loue and efteem as his trewift frendis, fic as lovingly and modeftly will correct his faltis. And as Plutark fayes vnto Trayan, folow the confaill of them that loues the, rather then of them that thou loues. And as Theopompe, being demandit how a prince fuld beft reull, anfwerit, in permitting his trew faruandis to tell him the verite of his eftait. As the King of the people is, fo ar his officers; gif the officers be wicked, fa is the reuler thocht to be. How ar flatterers flowen away with your wonted humilite; and wha hes puft you vp, fa that ye will not suffer a frendly reprof? Says not Salomon, gene thou feeft a man wyfe in his awen conceat, ther is mair hop to be had of a fooll then of him. Exalt not thyself in the day of honour, for pryd goith before destruction, and ane hy mynd before the fall. Yet hear confaill and refaue inftruction; let raifoun go before euery enterpryse, and confaill before euery action. When ye folowed the confaill of your auld experimented frendis, your affaires prosperit. Sen ye left them, to folow the flattering fetches of your wonted faes,

that ar now becom your chieffest confellours, efter that ye wer maid Regent, your credit decayes and all your busynes gais abak. I schew you laityly, commyng of Domfreis, in what danger was your estait and persone, wherunto ye haue tane ouer litle tent ; quhilk danger apperis to be ay the langer the greter, withoutspedy repentance, and the spedy embracing of sic remedies as I mentionit for the tym. Therfor tak this bettir to hart, and in a gud part of him of whom ye haue had sa gud proif in all your aduerfities. Salomon faves mair, receaue instruction, that thou mayest be wyse in thy lattir end ; and abone all this, prey to the most hych that he will direct thy way in treuth ; quhilk I prey God grant you the grace to do.

The maist part of thir sentences, drawen out of the byble, I vfit to recit vnto him at all erroneous occasions ; and he tok bettir with them therfore, then gif they had proceadit from the learnit philosophers. Therefore I promysed to put them [in] wret, and gaue him to kepe in his poutche ; bot he was slain, as said is, before I culd meit with him.

Eftir the discese of this Regent, England send the Erle of Suffex to Berwick; wher the Erle of Lenox cam also at that same tym, as being sent for be the lordis of the Kingis faction, to be maid Regent in steid of the Erle of Murray. The Erle of Suffex had with him the forces of the north, as gene he had some enterpryse to do, and tak some advantage, the tym that the contre wanted a Regent. About that same tym, sa mony of the lordis as wer bandit, and professit the Quenis autorite, caused proclame the same at Lithco. As yet, they of the castell of Edenbrough professit the Kingis autorite, albeit ther wer secreet jealousies betwen them, and sa many of the rest as had bene cause to draw the lait Regent vpon the taking of the secretery Liddingtoun and Sir

James Balfour, and wald also have wraked Grange, because he was a frend to them twa ; and also because his vertus wer envyed, and his capitanrie defyred be vthers.

P. 121. They that wer within the said castell for the tym, wer my L. Duc of Chattelleraut and my L. Heris, wardit wrangeously as I haue said ; therfore the lard of Grange obteanit a warrant fra the rest of the Kingis lordis, to fet them at liberte. The Lord Hum was ther, to assist with them of the castell with the lard of Grange, the secretery Liddingtoun, his brother the pryour of Cowdingame, S^r Robert Meluill, his twa brether, capten Daid and S^r Andro Meluille, the lard of Drylaw, Pittadrow, Sir James Balfour, the lardis of Fernihest, Baclouch, Wilmeftoun, Parbroith, and dyuers vthers noblemen and barrons that cam ther at all occasions, and wer redy for them when they had ado.

This company directed me to Barwik, toward the Erle of Suffex, to know what he intendit to do with his forces ; whither to assist any of the twa factions, or to agre them. I was frendly refaut be him, weall logit and deffrayed, and wanted nathing, not femekle as his awen nyght gown furrit with rich fourringis, sa lang as I abaid ther. Albeit he was a gret ennemy till all Scottis men, he appearit to enter in gret familiarite with me, and semed to tell me of his maist secret mynd ; alleging his planes to me was vpon the report he had hard be findre of his contre men. He said, that his commyng with sic forces was not till assist any faction, nor to descyd questions and titles that was amang us, bot to ferue the Quen his mestres commandement ; and that gif he did any enterpryse or harme at that tym till any Scottis man, it fuld be against his hart ; and that of all Scottis men, he lyked best of them that wer within the castell of Edenbrough and ther dependers ; specially be-

cause he knew them to haue bene frendis to the Duc of Norfolk his neir cufing; whais part he had planly tane, gif the faid Duc had be his awen mouth communicated his enterpryse to him, as he had foolischly done be a gentilman of his; to whais credit he durst not commit the fecrecy of that weichty matter, quhilk stode him upon his lyf and heritage; and that albeit he with his forcis cam not till fet out nor fortify any faction in Scotland, yet he durst be plane with me, as with a trew frend priuatly, to declare that he estymed the Quen of Scotland, and the Prince hir sone, rychtous hayres to the crown of England; quhilk part of his mynd he had schawen to few in England.

So I returnit with na direct answer, bot with a firm oppinion, that he wes send to seam to fet fordwart the Erle of Lenox to be Regent, and to send word to the lordis of the Kingis fynd that he wald assist them, and send in Mester Randolph heir with the Erle of Lenox; and yet to deall with the lordis of the Quenis faction, to encourage them till hald fordwart ther factious courses. Because the faid M^r Randolphe had a gret dealing with the house of Hammiltoun, as he wha convoyed the Erle of Arran, now vesited with the hand of God, out of France throw England and hame in Scotland, to assist the congregation. He knew also what auld and lang hattrent wes between the houses of Lenox and Hammiltoun, and was deliberatly directed secretly to kandle a fyre of discord between the twa stark factions in Scotland, quhilk culd not be easely quenched; and to confirm the Lord Hum, wha was not yet resolut to tak part with the Quenis faction, quhilk England thocht not yet stark enough, to sustean lang stryf against the Kingis faction.

The Erle of Suffex entred in the Merse with his forces, and tok the castell of Hum and Falscastell, full of richese and precious mouables,

moving the Lord Hum that way to tak plane part with the Hamiltons
P. 122. and Quenis faction. Wherby it may be fean, how that the conclufion
to hald contrees in difcord, be the craft of the confaill of England for
the tym, as I haue fpecified of before, was now put in praetyfe incon-
tinent efter the difcefe of the Erle of Murray. Albeit the Erle of Le-
nox had his wyf, his bairnis and landis yet in England, they wald not
credit him; but fupponit he wald be a trew Scottifman, as he proued
in deid efterwart. I being in Barwik, when the Erle of Lenox was fa
far agaitwart to com in Scotland, to be Regent as faid is, I thocht it
my dewty to vefit him; for at his firft incommyng before the mariage
of his fonne my L. Darley with the Quen, he fend this that is now
Crownel Stuart for my brother Sir Robert and me, and becaufe my
brother was abfent, I went allane to him. At what tym, he tald me
that his lang abfence out of the contre had maid him as a ftranger in the
knewlege of the eftait, and that my lady his wyf, at his commyng
from hir, had willit him to tak my brothers confaill and myn in all
his adois, as hir frendis and kinsmen. Sa that being familier anough
with him, I vefited him at this tym, and tald him the prefent eftait of
the contre; bot I difuadit him to accept vpon him the regiment, fear-
ing that in fa doing it wald coift him his lyf, as matters wer lyk to be
handled, as I fuld inform him at mair lenth being at hame. As for my
felf, I promyfed to ferue and affift him, albeit I culd not fe the lyk in-
tention be them that wer in the caftell of Edenbrough. He promyfed
again to be my frend at his power, and gaif me his hand therupon.
Then he inquyred, what wes the caufe that they of the caftell wald be
in his contraire. I faid, for na particular they had at him felf, bot
becaufe the company of lordis that had fend for him to com hame,

and be Regent by them, wer ther vnfrendis, and suspected they wald also with tym moue hym also to be ther ennemy. He said that the lard of Grange had bene alwayes his gud frend, and had done him somtymes gret plesour. I sayd, I hoped he suld be his frend yet, eftir that he had sattelit himself in the regiment, and mycht haue leaser to be richtly infourmed of euery mans part.

Retournyng bak fra Barwik, at the bond rod, I met the abbot of Domfermeling, sent be the Kingis lordis to England, to meit with the Erle of Lenox in his passing by. Sa far as I culd learn efterwart of his commissioun, was to desyre the Quene of England to delyuer the Quen of Scotland, to be keped be the Kingis lordis heir at hame; feing that sche wald not proceed vtherwayes conform to ther accusation, geuen in the tym that my L. of Murray wes ther; wherunto the Quen of England maid answer, gif they wald send hir sufficient plegis for the surete of the Quenis lyf, sche suld delyuer hir to them to be keped. The abbot allegit that to be hard to do; for what incaice the Quen died in the mean tym. Sche said again, "My L. I beleued ye had bene a wyse man; ye wald presse me to speak that quhilk is not necessary. Ye suld knaw that for my honestie, I can not bot requyre plegis to that end. I think ye mycht juge also of your self, what mycht be my weall." Hir meaning in this may be easely jugit and vnderstand.

P. 123. The Erle of Lenox cam till Edenbrough schortly efter me, and efter he had accepted vpon him the gouernement, his first enterpryse wes to tak Breichen, quhilk was keped be some companyes of futmen, tane vp be the Erle of Huntely to affist the Quenis faction. Thir soldiours aduertist of the new Regentis commyng to perfew them, fled; except

a few that kepit the kirk and stipell, wha wer all hanget. I had maid me redy to ryd with the Regent, bot Mester Randolphe the Englishe ambaffadour, wha cam in with the Erle of Lenox, feamyng to fet him fordwart at his power, stayed me not to ryd with the Regent; for he feared that I suld be ane instrument to agre the lard of Grange, and them of the castell of Edenbrough, to the Regentis obedience with tym, to the hendrance of the ciuill discention quhilk heintendit to establishe. For gene they of the castell of Edenbrough and ther dependers had affistid the Regent, the Quenis faction wer fa few and weak, that they wald not haue bene able to mak a party to the Kingis faction, wha wer yet manyest in nomber, and had the haill hartis of the subiectis vpon ther fyd.

I was very laith to stay behind the Regent, baith because I had promysed to affist and tak part with him, and also because I had obtainit a teind of the bischoprik of St Androwes, of the landis of Lethem besyd Monimell, geuen be the Erle of Murray to Mester Hendre Balnaves, wherof I had na takis bot possession, he raisoun that the bischop for the tym in Dombartan wes forsalted; fa the said tend wes in the Regentis power to dispone to any vther, yet he had maid me promyse that I suld bruk it. I tald Mester Randolphe, that the said tendis mycht be in danger to be disponit, incaice I wer absent fra the Regent. "Tusch," he said, "I am tutour at this tym to the Regent; I fall not only warrant your teind, bot fall cause yow get a better gift;" and promysed in the mean tym to wret a letter vnto the Regent, wha wes alredy riden, to let him knaw that he had stayed me, to draw on agreement betwen my frendis of the castell and him; willing him not to dispon sic a teind fra me till any vther. Howbeit I knew him to be

a double dealer and a sower of discord ; yet I could not believe, that he would abuse me or hurt me in any thing, being so far addicted to me during his banishment in France for religion, during the reign of Queen Mary. Neither would I blot the paper with this meikle concerning my particular, were not to declare the strange practices of princes in matters of estate.

Now I being stayed at Randolphes desire, his first proposition to me was, to desire the captain of the castle till agree and assist the Regent. I told him that I supposed he should do it with time, but not so hastily ; and that same answer I brought to him back again, with a request from the Lord of Grange to be plain with him, for there had been also great friendship between them in France. After some ceremonies and protestations of secrecy, he said, "Tell your friend this far from Master Randolphe, but not from the English ambassador, that there is no lawful authority in Scotland but the Queen ; she will prevail at length, and therefore his course is surest, and best for him to join himself with them of his faction." This was the help he made to the Regent, who happened that his only embassy and labours was to advance his authority and obedience under the King. I seemed to be very well satisfied with this healthful advice, and past up to the castle, and told the captain and his associates no more nor I had assured them of at my coming home out of Berwick.

P. 124. The Lord of Grange was still minded to be at the King's authority, seeing that to be factious in his name, during his absence and captivity, might do his matter well then good, and be occasion of great bloodshedding among the subjects, be the malice of the ringleaders of England, and partialities of a few in Scotland ; and was affected but a mere occasion how to make agreement between the parties. In the mean time, I past up

and down betwen them of the castell and Mester Randolph, wha gaif me another commiffion, to wit, incaice the tua Quenis of England and Scotland agre betwen them felues, to appoint ane Englis man to be capten of the castell of Edenbrough, and fend vnto him a wreting subferyuit with baith ther handis; gif he wald condiscend also, for gret commodite to him felf, to delyuer the faid castell vnto that perfone that fuld be apponted. This he refused vtterly, in ane gret anger. This was all the gud agreement that Mester Randolphe and I maid during the Regentis abfence; and in ftead to remember the Regent not to difpone my tendis, he had a dealing with the tutor of Pitcur be the paffing betwen of George Halybroun, that he caufed them fut my teindis of Lethem at the Regent, and tald that how I wanted fufficient fecurite. And when the Regent wes returnit to Edenbrough, and I infourmed Mester Randolph of ane outgait how to get my tendis again, and remembrit him of his promyfe, he faid, that the Regent wes fa ftubborn and of fa euell a natour, that he culd not deall with him. Then I burfted out and tald him, how that his praetyfes wer weall anough perfault; and wheras it apperit that he wald caufe me not only abandon the Regent, bot also be ane inftrument to perfuad the Lard of Grange to be vpon the contrary faction, I wald not be that inftrument, nor leaue the Kingis courfe thoch he fuld caufe tak fra me the reft of my landis.

Seing that Grange culd not yet be moued to jun with the Quenis faction, as the court of England defyred, (for the reft of the contre of England wer fory to fe this kynd of dealing,) the Englifche ambaffadour perfuadit the Regent to caft him aff, be dyuers wrangis and leichtlies done to him felf and his dependares. In the mean tym my L. Duc, the Erles of Argyll and Huntly, addreffit them vnto hym, and

maid ther mean, how that they, being noblemen of the contre, wer refused to be in societe with the rest, wha socht ther wrak vnder pretext of the Kingis autorite, be the Regent, the Erle of Mortoun and some vthers ther vnfrendis; requesting him to be ther protectour and help them during the Kingis minorite; and how that they at the first wald fayn haue affistid the Kingis autorite, bot culd not get place nor be admitted. Sa he that wes vilipendit with the Kingis lordis, and futed be the Quenis lordis, was compellit to jun with that fyd at lenth; having with him the Lord Hum malcontent, also the secretary Liddingtoun and Sir James Balfour, spurring him to tak that course. Being sa casten af, he was compellit, for his nyxt refuge, to jun planly with the Quenis fyd, efter that he amang the rest was sumondit to be forfeited, as ye fall heir.

P. 125. Now the twa furious factions being framed on this maner, the hatred and rage against vther grew daily greter and greter. For Mester Randolphe knew the diuerfities that wer amang the noblemen and the nature of euery ane in particulaire, be his oft commyng and lang residence in Scotland. Amang the ladyes, he had a mother and a mestres, to whom he caused his Quen oft send commendations and takens. He also vfed his craft with the ministers, and offerit gold to dyuers of them. Ane of tham that wes very honest, refused his gift; bot he tald that his companion tok it, as be way of charite. I am not certane gif any of the rest tok presentis, bot vndoutedly he offerit to sic as wer in meatest rowmes, to cry out against factions heir or ther, and kendle the fercer fyre; sa that the parties wer not content to feicht and fched vthers bluid, bot wald flyet with injurious and blaffemus wordis, and at lenth fell to the doun casting of vtheris houffes; wherunto England

lent ther help, be a number of men of wair, that cam in and cuft down Hamiltoun, becaufe of a mynt that wes maid be some gud minifters till agre the twa parties.

Then as Nero ftod vp vpon a hich part of Rome, to fe the toun burnyng quhilk he had caufed fet on fyre, fa Mefter Randolphe delyted to fe fic fyre kendlit in Scotland; and be his wretingis to some in the court of England, glorified him felf to haue brocht it till pafs, in fic fort that it fuld not be gottin eafely flokenit again. Whilk when it cam to the knowlege of Sir Nycholas Throgmortoun, he wret in Scotland to my brother and me, and aduertift us how we wer handled; detefting baith Mefter Cicill as director, and Mefter Randolphe as executour. As I haue faid, all the honeft men in England wer fory at it; of the quhilk nomber ther ar as many within that contre, as in any vther fa mekle boundis in Europe.

My brother and I fchew vnto the Lard of Grange, and to famany within the caftell as wer fecret, of this wreting from Sir Nycholas; quhilk they beleued eafely, as men that had gret intelligence, and that had marked Mefter Randolphes proceedingis of befoire. Wherupon ther was some fecret metingis drawn on, betwen the Lord Hum and the Lord Ruthven, as neir kinfmen. The L. Ruthven was in greteft fauour with the Regent for the tym, and treforer. He was defyred to com and fpeak with my L. Hum, during the hettest of the ciuill warres. At what tym, the fecretary Liddington and my brother entrit with the Lord Ruthven, efter that he and the L. Hum had fpoken a fpaice together, and fchew him how that the Regent wes vfed be England, and how that the contre wes vfed; and alfo how that the Erle of Morton had defyred fecretly to com at midnycht, accompanied with Mefter Archebald Douglas, to the caftell of Edenbrough, and had lang confer-

ence with them; defyring ther affistance, and he fuld chaife the Erle of Lenox bak till England, sa that they wald accept and acknowlege him for Regent in sted of the other. Quhilk they of the castell wald not grant to do, bot lyked weill of the Erle of Lenox, as of a trew Scottisman; and that ther lying abak fra affisting him wes, he being send for and brocht in by them. And therefore fearit at the first, that he wald be ouer far at the deuotion of England, as ane Englisman hauing yet his wyf, bairnis, and landis in that contre; and mairouer, that he fuld be sa led be the Erle of Morton, and vthers factious ennemys to the L. Hum [and] the secretaire, that he wald seak ther vtter wrak; baith because that capten Craffort, wha had accused the secretair, was seruant
P. 126. for the tym to the Erle of Lenox, and allegit that he had commiffion fra the said Erle to geue in the said accusation. And that quhilk geue matter anough to my L. Hum, was the inbringing of the Erle of Lenox be the Erle of Suffex, and the taking of his tua houses of Hum and Falscastell, all at a tym, quhilk he supponit not to be done by the Erle of Lenox consent. Bot sen they vnderstod how the Erle of Lenox, and the haill contre wes bot abused and misvsed with England be Mester Randolphe, affisted with the Erle of Mortoun, they wer deliberat baith till agre them selues, and to cause all Scotland agre with the Regent, gene they can get a raifonable meeting.

My L. Ruthven was very glaid of this offer, and said he hopped to bring them a meting and a gud answer fra the Regent; and the rather because the Erle of Mortoun [was] absent, as a small content for the refusing to him of the bischoprik of St Androwes, quhilk the Kingis house and the Regentis mycht ill spair. Sa he returnit to the Regent with this offer, wha tok it in a very gud part; and efter anis or tuyse passing

betwen, the Regent with the L. Ruthven had concludit a paice quyety in ther myndis, making nane preuy therto as yet. Bot as ambaffadouris ar gret spyys, and commonly fuspitious, Mester Randolphe wha lay at Leith, delt ernesfly with the Regent to geue the bishoprick of St Androwes to the Erle of Morton; and allegit that the Quen his mestres had wreten to him in chiffer for that effec, quhilk sche fuld recompense to him with a better commodite; and that hir Maieste wald be very angry incaice he did it not, as he fuld cause hir handwret to com to him self theranent.

Sa when the Regent had granted this to Mester Randolphe, he aduertit incontynent the Erle Mortoun to com to the court, quhilk he did with diligence, and vsed all the contrary practyses that he culd to hender any gud agrement; for as he had fisched that benifice in dromly watters, he hopped to fische mair be sic meanis. Ane of his deuyces was, to cause the consaill vot and direct the Erle of Bouchan, to tak me prisoner out of my awen hause; bot I wes at a brydell in Forthell, wher the said erle cam, and with whom I went willingly, albeit I had frendis anew ther for the tym, that offerit to chaise him bak again. Bot I wald not prejuge my iust cause without purpos; for the Erle Bouchen was of a discret and gentill natur, and schew me that they had nathing to ley to my charge, bot to se gif I culd be ane gud instrument of concord; and willit me when I wes in Leith, to send vp word to the castell of Edenbrough, and allege that my lyf wes in parell, incaice they wald not render the hause to the Regent. I said, that it wes a bairnly taill, and maruelit of ther wisdome, that mycht knaw how my frendis of the castell wer angrier at me then they wer, for not taking part with them.

The lard of Grange wes not content when he hard that I wes tane;

for he knew how oft I had preffit and perfwadit him to tak plan part with the Regent, and how far I had raisonnit against the secretery and Sir James Balfour, in ther proceadingis with the Quenis faction; feing that sche was captywe, in sic fort as nother mycht sche mak them help, nor they hir, except that sche wald be the straitlyer gardit and kepit in England. Hearing a faction to be ryfen vp in hir name, wald suppone that sche was in some hope of haifty liberte, be some practyses with the subiect in England. Sir James Balfour allegit, that hir Maieste had frendis in France and vther partis, wha wald the rather do for hir, that they vnderstod a number of hir nobilite yet on fut professing hir autorite. I said that hir only frendis in vther partis, wer in

P. 127. England and France: they that wer in England durst not presently, and wald be in the harder estait, and in greter danger, for the suspition that wald be had of them; and hir French frendis wald do hir na gud; the Quen mother, wha had the cheif reull of the contre, being hir gret ennemy; and the house of Guise nather able to mak hir help, nor yet wer they fur frendis; as I fall schaw at mair lenth the proif of my argument, when I haue releauit my self out ther handis that kepit me.

I was declairen, how that the lard of Grange was angry at my taking, I being sa frac for the Regent, and he sa willing to jun with him. That same nycht, he send down a woman out of the castell to Leith, with a ticket to me, that he fuld com that same nycht at midnycht, and releaue me out of ther handis; and had send that same woman to knaw how I was keped, and wher I was logit. The Regentis camp lay between Leith and Edenbrough, and many of the noblemen and barrons logit in Leith, for euery ane had not pauillons. The lard of Grange had aponted a boit to ly at Granton, and thocht to com failen in to

Leith heuen, as gif it wer a boit com ouer the watter; and thocht caldly without straik to com to my loging, and tak me out of my kepers handis, and pafs vp the watter again, to a part wher he had horfmen in a redines to cary me vp to the castell with him. Bot I wald in na wayes consent therto, affuring him that I was in na danger, and that my L. of Bouchan had promysed me, ay when I plesit, to let me steall away; quhilk I wald not do, but defyred daily to be tryed. Many of the lordis meruelit wherfor I was tane, feing that I assisted ay with the Regent sen his entre in Scotland. Lykwais the Regent wes miscontent; sa at lenth it was found, that a very few confellouris knew of my taking. The Erle of Mar a trew nobleman said, that the Erle of Bouchan, for suffring himself to be send, was dafter nor the formair erle his gudfather, wha was not very wyfe; bot the Erle of Morton send me word, that nathing fuld ail me mair nor his awen hart. For the fassion, they defyred me to find caution, that I fuld serue the Kingis Maieste and his Regent. Sa I wes neuer brocht before the consaill, bot set to liberte. Of a treuth, I culd not se a raisoun to set vp twa factions sa lang as the Quen wes captywe, nor yet culd se any outgait for them that professit hir autorite; wha wald fayn haue assisted the Kingis lordis, bot wer not accepted, and therfor neecessite drawe them to deffend them selues vnder the schadow of some autorite.

The rest of my raisouns, why the Quen wald get na help out of France be hir awen frendis, nor yet be the Quen mother, ar thir. The Quen mother wes not weall vsed, sa lang as our Quenis first husband K. Francis 2. lyued. The consaill and estaitis of France desyres not the vnion of this yll. For proif, efter that my brother Sir Robert, when he retournit the first tym of his ambassage out of England, brocht

the hand wretis of xxv principall erles and lordis of England, to fet the crown of England vpon the Quen of Scotlandis head; and that the
P. 128. captens in fchyres wer alredy named be the faidis lordis, to be in a redines to marche fordwart when they fuld be chargit; only they stay-ed vpon the Quenis opportunitie and aduertisment. The Quen incontinent wret in France, to hir oncle the Cardinall of Lorrain, willing him to fend heir ane of his maist secret faruandis; to whom sche mycht communicat matters of sic wecht and importance, that sche wald nother hazard to fend them in wret nor chiffers. The faid Cardinall fend in heir ane of his famylier secretaires; to whom the Quen caused my brother and me declair at lenth, the maner of the estait of England, as is abone specified; desyren hir faid oncle to fend his aduyse anent the tym, and word what help he and all his frendis with ther moyen mycht mak, to land other few or many schippis, bot with a contenance of men, at sic a part of England; and gif he and they mycht mak na help, to kepe secret; it wald be easely anough brocht till pafs. This secretair being retournit to his maister, infourmed him of the haill matter. The cardinall again, to won thankis of the Quen mother, and to appear to be a trew Frenchman, schew the Quen mother, how hurtfull to the crown of France wald the vnion of the yll of Bretan be; and thocht met that sche fuld aduertise the Quen of England to tak ordour therintill, quhilk the Quen mother failed not to do. Bot the Quen of England gaif hir na credit, bot rather supponit it to be ane Italien fetch, to put hir in fuspition of hir nobilite. This the Quenis Maieste tald me hir self, complenen of the cardinallis vnkyndly dealing. Therfor I said, that ther wes na help to be loked for out of France; and the Duc of Alb, wha was in Flanders, had planly refused

to mak any help, till the K. his mefter wald command him; and that he had anough ado, to fattle his maifters awen fubiectis in Flanders.

Thir wer the argumentis that I vfed to moue my frendis to agre with the Regent; and they wer at a neir point, be the dealing of the tua lordis Hum and Ruthven, affifted be the fecretary Lidingtoun; for the Lord Hum wald then do nathing without his aduyfe.

Bot efter that the Erle of Morton wes returnit to the court, and had obteanit the bifchopry of St Androwes, be Mefter Randolpes moyen, they tua fufpecting the apperant agrement, quhilk wes kepit fecret from them, deuyfed incontinent how to hender the fame, be the holding of a parlement, wherin to forfalt all ther ennemys; wherby the Regent fuld wrak vtterly his ancient ennemys the Hammiltens, and euery ane of the Kingis lordis fuld get landis and geir anough; and Mefter Randolph promyfed fic fecfull affiftance of England, that ther culd be na refiftance maid be ther ennemys. The Erle of Mortoun again had gret gyding of the maift part of the confaill, to perfuad them consent to a parlement, to be halden in Stirling for the foirfaid effect.

The Quenis lordis again, to be equall with them, held another parlement at Edenbrough, baith at a tym, ilk ane till forfalt vther. The Lard of Grange in the mean tym had gret difpleafour to fee Scottifmen fa furiously bent againft vther, be the praetyfes of England, and extream gredines of fome Scottis lordis, that intendit till augment ther rentis, be the wrak of fome of ther nybours whom they enuyed. Therefore fend for the lard of Ferniheft his gud fone, and the lard of Ba-
P. 129. clouch, father to this prefent lard, wha louit the lard of Grange better then any of his awen kin; quhilk lard of Baclouch was a man of rare qualites, wyfe, trew, ftout and modest. Thir twa lardis wer defyred to

com weall accompanied, and arryuit at Edenbrough in ane euenyng lait. The lard of Grange had alredy deuyfed ane enterpryse, to wit, that same nycht efter they had fouppd them felues and baitted ther horse, to ryd all nycht fordwart with them to Stirling, to be ther early in the mornyng or any of the lordis that held the parlement wer out of ther beddis; hopping be his intelligence affuredly to surpryse them before they culd be aduertist. All the lordis and confaill fand his deuyce exceding gud, bot they wald in na wayes grant that he fuld ryd with them, alleging that ther only confort vnder God consisted in the preferuation of his persone. He again allegit that his presens with them wald be nedfull, for he wes experimented with difficill enterpryses, and fearit that they fuld not folow richtly nor cairfully his direction; bot they promysed to folow it restricktly, and wald not suffer him to ryd with them. Bot the Erle of Huntly, my L. Arbroith, and my Lord of Paiceley and dyuers others, raid fordwart with the forces of the twa lardis, and wer at Stirling before four houres in the mornyng, and entered in the toun of Stirling at a little passage, led be a townis man callit George Bell; quhilk entre wes immediatly efter that the nycht watches wer retiret to ther rest. Sa being the first aduertisers, they deuydit ther men, and appointed sic as wer thocht meatest to await vpon euery lordis loging, and a company with Capten Hackerstoun to stand at the market croise, to cause gud ordour be kepit, and to saif the town houses from being spoilged; only the stables to be cleangit be Baclough and Farnihestis men, not to leaue a horse in the town oncaried away with them; quhilk the fouthland childer forget not to do for ther part. Bot because Capten Hackerstoun cam not in dew tym with his company to stand wher he was appointed, a number of vnrewly faruandis

brak vp the marchandis boithes, and ran heir and ther in difordour efter the spoilze, and left ther maisters ther alain, efter they had tane out the haill lordis out of ther logingis, and wer leading them captyues doun the stay caffay of Stirling vpon fut, intending to loup vpon ther horse at the nether port, and ryd till Edenbrough with ther prifoners. Bot when they that wer within the castell of Stirling perfault the gret rouffill and schame they wald refaue, gene they schew not them felues lyk men, and feing the difordour of ther ennemys, they cam down fercely vpon them and rescowed them all, faving the Regent that ane cam and fshot behind his bak, directed fra my L. of Pacelay as was allegit. The Lard of Wilmeftoun wes the taker of the Regent, and wes appointed be the lard of Grange to await vpon him, and to faif him from his particuleir ennemys; for they all promysed him at ther parting fra Edenbrough not to fla a man, or elis he wald not grant to byd behind them. Wilmeftoun wes also flain, againft the Regentis will, wha cryed continowaly to faif Wilmeftoun, wha did what he culd for his preferuation. The Regent died not sodanly, bot fome dayes efter, and maid a very godly end. They that had tint this fair enterpryse for falt of Granges prefens, had anough a do to faif them felues, and had bene all tane, wer not they of Stirling wantit horse to perfew efter them; for they that had tane the horse, raid ther gaitis with all possible fpeid, and left ther maisters behind them in danger.

P. 130. When they wer retournit bak till Edenbrough, they wer very vnwelcom gestis to the lard of Grange; wha lamented hauely for the Regentis flachter, and faid, gene he knew wha did that foull deid, or wha directed it to be done, he fuld tak reuenge therof with his awen hand. And wheras of before he vfed to be meak and gentill, he now bourfted

out with hard langage againſt the diſorder and gredines of them, and callit them ſnaflers and beaſtis; for he knew the Regent inclynit to the paice, and wes not yngnorant how he wes dryuen be Meſter Randolphe and the Erle of Mortouns praetyſes, to hald the ſaid parlement, to the hendrance of concord and agreement. Therfore his intention was to bring all the Kingis lordis to the caſtell of Edenbrough, and ſet down a gud agreement before they ſuld get fourth; bot God wald not haue it till our vickednes mycht be better puniſſed; for the parlementis held fordwart, and ilk ane of the tua parties forſalted vthers.

The Kingis lordis cam and lay at Leithe, and the Quenis within the town and caſtell of Edenbrough. Meſter Randolphe wald haue had the Erle of Mortoun maid Regent, in plaice of the Erle of Lenox; bot the lordis lyked better of the Erle of Mar, and cheiſed him. For a whyll ther wes het ſkirmyſſching betwen Leith and Enbrough, and extrem hattrent betwen the twa factions, and gret creweltie wher they mycht be maiſter of vther; and oft tymes the marſchall of Berwik cam to Leith, to aſſiſt Meſter Randolphe inwartly, and to find fault with his proceedingis outwardly, when he mycht get opportunitie to ſpeak or ſend word to them of the toun of Edenbrough and caſtell therof. Quhilk my L. of Mars frendis perſauit, and him ſelf at lenth; wherthrow he began to be caulder in the quarell, and drew him ſelf to Stirling, and aduyſed with his frendis what was meteſt to be done; alleging that he culd ſe nathing bot the wrak of the contre, vnder pretext of King and Quenis faction or authorite; and that nother King nor Quen was in any of ther myndis, bot only pouffit be ther awen parcialites of ambition, gredines, and vengeance; England kendlen vp baith parties, and then lauchen them all to ſcorne.

After this conference, Capten James Kuningame seruant to my L. of Mar, a discreit gentilman, defyred a secret meting with my brother Sir Robert. In the mean tym, the maist part of the Kingis lordis past to Stirling wher the Regent wes, leauing my L. of Mortoun in Dalkeith, and my L. Lindsay in Leith. When the warres grew caulder, and word thairof cam to ther knowlege in England, a new ambaffadour wes haisted to com in Scotland, to wit Mester Hary Killigrew, ane auld frend and acquaintance of myn; for Mester Randolphe wes retournit hame, because he had not sic credit with the Erle of Mar, and had lost the fauour of baith the factions, except only with the Erle of Mortoun; for his double dealing was discouert.

This new ambaffadour being arryuit at Leith, vpon his way toward Stirling wher the Regent remanit for the tym, he send vp to the castell of Edenbrough to se gif I wes ther, for they had tald him in Leith, that I wes new com ouer the watter. He defyred that I wald
P. 131. com and speak with him; quhilk I did, and convoyed him vnto Cramont, raifonyng together all the way vpon sic matters as he said he had in commissioun, cheifly how he mycht be a gud instrument to agre the differentis that was betwen the twa parties; albeit ther was na thing les in his mynd, at least in his commissioun. He said he had commissioun from the Quen his mestres, to deall with baith the parties for ther concord; bot mair cairfully, and with the aduyse of manyer loving frendis, vnto them of the castell then with ther contrair party. And albeit that outwardly he behoued first to pass wher the Regent was, to geue him that prerogatywe, yet in effect my frendis of the castell fuld be preferrit, baith be his first salutation to them be me, and be twa famylier wretingis, the ane from my L. of Leycister to the lard of

Grange, and the vther from the secretary Cicill to the secretary Liddingtoun; willing me to prey them to follow and credit the aduyse geuen therin be the saidis lordis, to them whom they louit entierly for ther vertus and auld acquaintance; and willit me to tell them, that efter he had declaired his commiffion to the Regent, he fuld com bak again to them, and declair at lenth his commiffion from hir Maiefte.

It appearit that he had intelligence, how that Mester Randolpbes double dealing was discouert, and seamed to find some faltis with him; bot he excused him sa far as he culd, vntill I adjurit him sa, vpon the lang and great famyliarite that had bene betwen us, to deall planlier with me; and tald him that he mycht serue his mestres trewly anough, on casten me and my frendis vpon a wrang fyd, quhilk mycht be efterwart our wrak; wha had deserued better at his hand then till put us in sic danger, be the commown practyses of contrees, as thocht we wer vntowart and vnhonest and on confellable; as Mester Randolphe had done, forgetting the fraternite in religion, sa weall groundit amang us during ther baniffement in France for religion. Then he wes compellit to grant vnto me, that his commiffion and his mynd went not a way; and that he wes imployed against his will, and as a saruand durst not disobey his princefs, and said he wald geue me his loving consaill and warnyng.

He said, that the Quen and Consaill of England nother buildit ther course heir vpon the lait Regent, nor yet vpon this Regent, bot entierly vpon the Erle of Morton; asweill of ther awen plat layed long sence, as be the information of Mester Randolph, wha has confirmed them in that oppinion, sa that they will not alter for na contrary persuation; willing my frendis and me jun our course, and band with the Erle of

Mortoun, or elis to look for na frendfchip out of the court of England, bot hurt and wrak fa far as they mycht. For albeit he wes not Regent, they knew that he had a gret frendfchip in the contre, quhilk they wald increafe fa far as they culd; that whofoever wer Regent, fuld get litle or nathing done by his consent. In this I thocht he delt planly, and fa did my frendis of the castell; yet they culd not find in ther hartis to jun with him, albeit he futed them and offerit to hald vp the Quenis autorite; for they thocht his courfe vnfore for the King and fateling of the eftait, and ouer far addiçted to England.

Efter that this ambaffadour had bene with the Regent in Stirling, and com bak again to Edenbrough, he tald the rest of his commiffion to them of the castell; to whom he vfed him felf bot lyk ane ambaffadour, as he was directed. Generally he fayd, that he fand them mair raifonable than the Regentis party. Then he pafte to Dakeith, to meit with the Erle of Mortoun; and then ftayed at Edenbrough, to await vpon meit occaſions and informations, how to proceed conform to the tenour of his inſtructions.

This new ambaffadour had commandement to tary in Scotland for
P. 132. a tym, to ſe gif he mycht conquys afmekle credit as to ferue ther turn that ſent him. And becauſe I wes of his greateſt acquaintance, he cam with me to my houſe, and taryed a few dayes to refreſche his ſpirit. And efter that I had convoyed him bak again to Edenbrough, he ſchew me ſome articles of his inſtructions, ane of the quhilkis wes: “Item, gif the capten of the caſtell will condifcend, that all the diferentis that ar now in queſtion amang the Scotis, be referrit to be difcydit before us and our conſaill, as the reſt of the Kingis lordis haue granted alreedy, we ſalbe his gud frendis, and mentean him in his office,

and geue him ane honnorable penfion." To do the quhilk he gaue a plain refufe, and fayd it wald prejuge his prince and contre. Bot that and his vther refufes of before, coift him his lyf efterwart.

About this time, my L. Regent fend a wreting for me to be at him with deligence. At my commyng to him, he maid a hauy mean for the ciuill troubles that wer kendled in the contre, be the craft and malice of fome in England, and fome in Scotland; taking the coulour of this or that autorite, and yet wer only moued be ther awen particularites, to the hurt baith of King, Quen and contre; defyring me that I wald pafs to the caftell of Edenbrough, and fchew them as of my awen head, "and not as fra me, that ye vnderftand that I perfaue, albeit ouer lait, how that we ar all led vpon the yce, and that all gud Scottifmen wald fayn agre and fatle the eftait; and they in fpeciall, gif they culd get a meting, quhilk ye ar affured they may get of me, gif they wald fut the fame; and offer your felf to be the instrument to bring on a gud agreement betwen them and me, quhilk fall with Godis grace tak gud effect, at your retournyng with ther raifonable offers and anfwer."—Wherupon I pafst till Edenbrough, and fand them all inclynit to paice and quyetnes with litle perfuafions; for they wer at a neir point of before with my L. of Lenox; and fome conference had bene betwen Capten James Kuningame and my brother of before. At my retournyng to the Regent, he wes very glaid, and faid he knew that the honeft men, feing the Quen wes captywe, to whom ther profeffing of hir autorite culd do na gud bot euell, wes euer willing to cefe fra ciuill difcord, bot wer be praetyfes caffen againft ther willis vpon a contrary courfe.

Then he inquyred, vpon what condiffions the capten and his frendis

wald agre. I said that the lard of Grange wald not sell his dewty to his prince and contre, for na commodite, bot wald serue the King and his Regent to setle the estait, sa lang as the Quen wes detenit in England; and gene God pleased to grant hir libertie, they douted not bot that sche and the King hir sone fuld agre betwen them selues, wherunto all honest and gud subiectis on baith fydis wald hald hand. And presently, they for ther partis desyred na mans land nor geir, but only to bruik peiceably ther awen lyuynge; only that the Regent wald cause pay certain dettis, contracted for repairing of the castell and arteillerie. Quhilk conditions the Regent promysed to fulfill, and to be ane assured frend to Grange, and them of the castell in particulaire; and without any P. 133. farther cerimonies, callit the lard of Tullibarden his gud brother before, and efter that he had declaired vnto hym how far we had proceedit, he choppit his hand in myn, and swore the paice in presence of the said lard; wha had also bene a gud instrument to the said agreement, together with his man of law, Mester Clement Litle, a very honest man, brother to Willyem Litle, efterwart prouest of Edenbrough. Na ma wer maid preuy therto, bot my Lady Mar and Capten James Kuningame.

Efter this the Regent past till Edenbrough, to convene the lordis and counsaill, to schew them the calamities that the ciuill warres producit, and let them se how necessary agreement and ane fattelit estait wald be to the haill contre. And in the mean tyme, vntill the appoynted counsaill day, he past to Dalkeith, wher he wes weill traied and banketed with my Lord of Mortoun. And schortly efter, he tok a vehement seaknes, quhilk caused him ryd to Stirling sodanly, wher he departed this lyf, and wes regreted of many. Some of his frendis and the vul-

gair people, spak and suspected that he had gottin wrang, and others, that it wes for displeasour.

The Erle of Mortoun, efter the discese of the Erle of Mar, was maid Regent, England helping therto at ther power. Sa fchone as he was chofen, he sent for me; declairen how that against his mynd and will, the lordis had bourdenit him with that faschious office; quhilk feing he behoued till accept, he wald wifs that he mycht stand the contre and commown weall in some steid. First, he wald defyre the help of all gud and honest men, to draw on peace and concord, to the quyeting of the estait; preing me, as ane of whom he had euer a gud lyking, to trauell with my frendis of the castell for that effect, and to perswad them to ga forduart with him, as they wer myndit to do with the Erle of Mar; affuring me, that nane of the formair Regentis had at any tym bene mair willing then he was presently, to put ane end to the ciuill troubles, nor that suld remember les vpon the parcialites past; and that the Regent suld not reuenge the Erle of Mortouns quarelis, bot wha euer wald serue the King and be his frend, he wald embrace them and debait them, vpon what fyd or faction foeuer they had bene of before; and luk vpon what conditions they delt with the Erle of Mar, they suld haue the same or better of him. I suld haue the pryourie of Pittenweme for my labour; the lard of Grange, the bischoprik of Santandrowes, and castell of Blaknes; and euery ane that wer within the castell, restored to ther landis and possessions as of before.

It was very hard to bring on this agrement with the Erle of Mortoun, for the euell oppinion quhilk was conceaued of him, and for the foull and hurtfull markis that they supponit, be some proifis and apperances, that he wald schut at; being ouer gredy of nature, ouer gret

with England, and ouer fearfull that the K. wald be his wrak; wher-
of a lady that was his leman, had schawen him the answeres of the
oracles. Yet the lard of Grange, wha was euer willing to se concord
in the contre, was easely persuadit. The L. Hum and Liddington maid
some resistance at the first, bot wer also content at lenth. Sa that
efter I had past tuiyse or thryse betwen, they apperit to be agreed in
ther hartis; and for supperabondance, the lard of Grange said, that he
fuld cause all the rest of the Quenis faction to agre with the Regent;
bot to tak the bischoprie of S^t Androwes and the castell of Blaknes he
refused, and wald haue nathing bot his awen landis.

P. 134. When I returnit to the Regent, with ther answer conform to his
desyre, he was maruelous glaid; bot when I declaired, that the lard of
Grange wald be a gud instrument, to cause all the rest of the Quenis
faction agre also with him, he said that it was not meit. And when I
raifonit against him, and schew him how that I had spoken in his name,
that he was myndit to agre all Scotland, and that Grange had na qua-
rell of his awen, bot to help a number of noblemen that requyred his
protection during the Kingis minorite; and requested the Regent till
agre anes with them altogither, for Grange honour, and efterwart he
and all they of the castell fuld band with him, and lay a fynd all vther
bandis. The Regent answerit and said, "James, I will be plane with
you. It is not my weill to agre with them all; then ther faction wil-
be as stark as it is, wherby they may some day circomvene me gif they
lyked. Therefore it is my weill to devyd them; and mair ouer, ther
hes bene gret combres in this contre this whyll bygain, and during
them, gret wrangis and extortions committed, for the quhilk some fas-
sion of punissement mon be maid; and I wald rather that the crymes

fuld be layed and liecht vpon the Hamiltouns, the Erle of Huntely and ther adherentis, then vpon your frendis; and by that, I will get mair proffit be ther wrak, nor be the wrak of them of the castell, that haue nother sa gret landis nor escheitis for us to wonne, and for to be the reward of our laboures. Therefore schaw Grange and your frendis, that other mon they agre by the Hammiltouns, therles of Huntly and Argyll, or the faidis lordis will agre without him and them of the castell." To this I anfwerit, that I vnderstod him; that his speach wes very plain.

With this I past again to the castell, and reherfit our haille reasonyng. Bot Grange said, that it wes na godly nor iust dealing, to lay the wyet vpon them that was richest, for ther landis and geir, and not vpon them that wer giltyest; for the noblemen wer ay willing till agre, efter that the Quen wes kepit in England, bot culd not be admitted. And yet, gene now they wald abandoun him, and agre by him and them that wer with him, he had deserued better at ther handis; yet he had rather that they fuld leawe and disceawe him, then that he fuld do it vnto them.

When the Erle of Mortoun persauit that Grange stode stif vpon his honestie and reputation, he apperit to lyk him the better, and seamed that he wald ga fordwart with them of the castell; and send vp Carmichell, at my defyre, to heir out of ther awen mouthes sa far as I had spoken in ther name. They of the castell lykways send Pittadrow to the Regent, to heir out of his awen mouth sa far anent the agrement as I had said to them in his name. This I did for my discharge, whatsoeuer mycht chance efterwart.

Then the Regent asked, at what tyme the castell of Edenbrough fuld

be delyuerit vnto him. I faid, within half year. "What fecurete," faid he, "fall I haue for that." I faid, I fuld be a plege, gif he wald accept me. Then he inquyred, wherfore I tok fa lang delay. I faid, for the firft, till all articles and promyfes mycht be perfourmed; and lykwayes, becaufe he faid that he euer eftemed the lard of Grange to be ane honeft man, yet be wrang reportis and praetyfes, the minifters wer fterit vp to cry out and preach againft him; therfor to mak him the mair able, and geue him the greter curage to ferue in tym comyng, P. 135. it wald be a contentement to his mynd to let the warld fe that, afweill efter the agreement as before, he fuld be eftymed alyk honeft and worthy to kepe the houle; and then at the tym apponted, the Regent fuld be requested to refaue the caftell out of his handis. He apperit to be very weill content with this maner of dealing, and gaif me gret thankis for the trauell that I had tane; willing me to pafs hame, and he in the mean tym fuld convene the reft of the noblemen of his fyd, and fchew them of his proceadingis, and tak ther aduyfe and consent to this gud purpos, quhilk he douted not to get; and therafter fuld fend for me again, and put the form of the agreement in wret.

Bot he tok incontinent another courfe, and fend a meit man to the Hammiltouns, the Erles of Huntly, Argyll, and ther dependers and affifters, and offerit them the pacification, by the lard of Grange and them of the caftell; quhilk they glaidly agreed vnto without many ceremonies, and fend ther wrettingis instantly to the lard of Grange out of St Jhonftoun, lamenting that the neceffite of ther hard and ftrait eftait fuld compell them to accept the appontement quhilk the Regent had offred vnto them; preing him not to tak it in ane euell part, feing they had na houle nor ftrenth to reteir them into; and gaif him gret

thankis for the help and assistance that he had maid vnto them, quhilk they fuld never forget, fa lang as God wald lend them ther lyues.

This was the recompence that this gud gentilman obteanit, for the gret help, hazard and charges done and maid for thir lordis; not beleuing that the Regent wald be fa malicious as to cast him aff, and not accept his frendship, quhilk he offerit incontinent efter that the rest wer agreed by him. Bot the Regent fra that tym fourth wald heir of na offer, and perswadit the rest of his faction, that they of the castell wer fa proud and fa wilfull, that they wald not grant to serue the King, nor acknowlege him as Regent. And this was publiffit and prechit, and yet the contrary was trew; for they wald haue tane any raifonable appontement. What rage wes in the Regentis mynd, for gredines of ther landis and geir, or what vther thing fuld haue moued him to bring in England with ane armye, to besege the castell of Edenbrough, to the dishonour of his prince and contre. Quhilk castell wes offerit a litle of before, to the Erle of Rothies, to be instantly delyuerit into his handis, to be keped to the Regentis behoue, quhilk wes refused; fa that apperantly he had some vther fetch in his head, then a man estemed fa wyse fuld haue had, feing that he mycht haue obtenit his intent without the help of England, having all Scotland at his deuotion, faving that few nomber within the castell, that wald haue agreed till any mediocre conditions.

The castell of Edenbrough then wes straitly besegit, with ane Englis armye vnder the conduit of the marchall of Barwik, assisted be all Scotland. They within, feing they culd not be refaut till any composition, debated fa lang as they had any vitales and watter; for ther draw well dried be the drouthy sommer, and they had na vther watter bot sic as

they fetched, letting men with cordes down ouer the wallis and craig of the castell, to a well on the west fyd, quhilk wes efterwart poisonit; wherthrow fa many as eschaped the schot, died, and the rest fell deadly
P. 136. feak. Yet the lard of Grange tok in hand, with aucht perfones, to kepe the castell on tane be force; of the quhilk nomber the Lord Hum wes ane, my twa brether Sir Robert and Androw, the lard of Pittadrow, and his brother Patrik Echlin.

This resolution being tane, the lard of Cleishe and Mathow Coluill his brother wer sent to the castell, femyng to mak them offers of apontement. Bot ther intent was, to get intelligence of the estait of the house, and to seduce the soldiours that wer yet alyve; quhilk they did, fa that some fled out ouer the wallis, and vthers wer schot fourth; for the capten thocht the house in a furer estait, baith for vitalles and vtherwayes, when they wer fourth. The marchall of Barwik feing na apperance to com sped, entrit in contention with the ambaffadour, alleging that the Quen his mestres wald get a dishonour, and said he wald tary na langer. Wherupon they without entrit in a new comownyng, and send vp again the lard of Cleishe, to offer them to com fourth with ther armour, bag and baggage; quhilk was agreed vpon, and that they fuld be restored to ther landis. And because ther landis wer for the tym in vther mens possession, it wes put in ther awen will, whither they wald pass in England with the marchall of Barwik, or remain in Scotland amang ther frendis, vntill sic promyses as wer maid them mycht be fulfillit.

The Englis men desyred that the castell fould be put in ther handis; bot Grange sent secretly to capten Hum and Capten Craffort, and desyred them to com and ly within the bulwark between the house and

the Englis men. Sa he pat the castell in handis of Scotis men, and his perfone to pass in England with the marchall, wha was his frend, vntill all promyses mycht be keped to him and the rest, be the meanis of the Quen of England.

On this maner they cam fourth, efter that George Douglas, naturall brother to the Regent, had refaut the house. They had all ther weapons and swordis about them, and wer thre dayes at liberte. Sir Robert lay with me at his awen logging. The lard of Grange and the secretary Liddingtoun remanit yet with the marchall of Barwik in his logging, for ther greter securete, because that the people of the town of Edenbrough wer ther gret ennemys. For except a few that taried within the town, during the ciuill troubles betwen the parties that lay in Edenbrough and Leith, the maist part of the richest men and marchandis left the town, and past till Leith to tak part with the Regent; therefore ther houses wer spoilged, and they bure gret hattrent to them of the castell.

Bot at the end of thre dayes, they wer all layed handis vpon and keped as prifoners. For some of ther maist malicious ennemys pat easely in the Regentis head, and in the ambassadours, that it wer weall done to request the Quen of England to cause delyuer the haill company in the Regentis handis, to be disponed vpon at his pleafour; alleging that they had na securete bot a bair promyse, quhilk they nedit not till keip. And because they of the castell reposed maist vpon the promyse of the marchall of Barwik, the marchallis wreting wes fa
P. 137. preuenit be the ambassadour, that the Quen of Englandis schairp lettre cam to the marchall, to delyuer them of the castell to the Regent; quhilk he durst not disobey, bot delyuerit them with gret regret, be

raifoun of his promyfe, and returnit malcontent to Barwik. And they of the caftell wer put in ftrait keping, and efterwart new lettres wer purcheffit be the Regent from the Quen, that he mycht execut them; quhilk fche permitted willingly, for fche wald haue bene quyt of the Lord Hum and Grange, as of tua trew Scottis men wha wer vnwonnable till England to do any thing againft ther prince or contre and the fecretary Liddingtoun, wer not that he died in Leith before that the reft wer delyuerit to the fcamles; fome fupponyng he tok a drink, and died as the auld Romanes wer wont to do.

As for the Lord Hum,—Alexander of Manderftoun, Codownknowes, the gudman of North Barwik with the reft of the Humes, fpak fa proud langage and boifted, that the Regent ftod aw of them and fpaired the Lord Humes lyf, wha died fchortly efter, being wardit in the caftell of Edenbrough. Mefter Killigrew defyred na mair for his reward bot the faffetie of my brother Sir Robertis lyf, he was fa far obliff of auld to him and me. The compofition wes kepit to all the reft of the mean gentilmen. The pryour of Kowdingame and lard of Drylaw wer efterwart fet to libertie. Sindre of the captens of Barwik pafft vp to the caftell, be the brefche wher the foir wall wes dung down be the canons, that they mycht fay that they had won the maiden caftell; bot this wes efter that the houfe was delyuered ouer to the Regentis brother, wha wald not haue fufferit them to enter ther with any nomber.

On this maner, baith England and the Regent wer reuengit vpon that worthy champion, whom they had fomtymes in gret eftymation; wha had done fic notable feruice in France, being capten of ane hundredre leicht horfmen, that he wes extollit be the Duc of Vendome,

Prince of Conde and Duc of Aumall, gouuernours and collomners [coronnells?] then in Picardie, that I hard the King Hendre 2. point vnto him and faid, "Yonder is ane of the maist vailyeant men of our tym." Also the K. vfed him fa familiarly, as to chuse him commonly vpon his fynd; and becaufe he fchot faire with a gret fchaft at the buttis, the K. wald haue him to fchut tua arrowes, ane for his pleafour; and the Gret Conftable of France wald not fpeak with him on couerit; and that K. gaif him ane honnorable penfion, wherof he neuer focht payment; and England had proif of his qualites, baith againft them vpon the borders, wher he did them dyuers ruffles, and be fingular combat vincuft the L. Yuers brother, betuen the tua armyes of England and Scotland; and efterwart had fa manfully debaited the libertie of his contre againft the Frenfchemen, when they pretendit to erect the reaulm in ane province; and wha laitly had refused the demandis of Mefter Randolphe and Mefter Killigrew, as is before mentionit, and had reprochit baith the faidis ambaffadouris of falfe and difceatfull deling; and laft of all, had refused to put the caftell in the handis of Englifmen. Therefore becaufe he wes trew and eafald to his prince and contre, it coift him his lyf; for they baith boifted planly to bring down that proud gyantis pryd, wha prefumed to be a nother Wallace, as they allegit. Albeit contrary wayes, he wes humble, gentill and meak lyk a lamb in the houle, bot lyk a lyon in the feildis; a luftey, ftark and weill proportionit perfonnage, hardy and of a magnanym curage; fecret and prudent in all his enterpryfes, fa that never ane tnat he maid or deuyfed mifluekit

P. 138. wher he was prefent him felf; and wher he was victorious, he was very mercifull, and naturally liberall, and ennemy till gredines and ambition, and frend till all men in aduerfitie, and fell oft in trouble to debait

innocent men fra sic as wald opprefs them. Sa that thir his worthy qualites, wer also partly causes and instrumentis of his wrak; for they promoued him sa in the oppinions of many, that some loued him for his religion, vprychtnes, manlines; vthers again dependit vpon him for his gud fortoun, and apperant promotion, wherby dyuers of them hoped to be aduancit and rewardit, supponing that honours and offices could not faill till fall to him; quhilkis all he wanted in his awen default, for he fled fra auarice, and abhorrit ambition, and refused findre gret offices, euen the office of Regent, and benefices and gret pensions. Sa, wanting place and substance till reward, he was incontinent abandonit be his gredy and ambitious dependers, sa schone as they saw him at a strait, and drew them to sic vthers as they persauit to schut at mair proffitable markis. Then, he was asmekle enuyed be them that wer of a vill and vnworthy nature, as he was belouit of all honest men. Then, as many haue maid tragicall endis for ther ouer gret gredines and ambition, as did the Erle of Mortoun schortly efter, this gud gentillman periffit for being ouer litle ambitious and gredy. Bot sa schone as the Kingis Maieste cam till perfyt aige, and had knowlege how the estait of the gouernement and contre was handled during his minorite, he caused restore the aires of the said lard of Grange, whom he said was wracked against the appontement with the Regent and the marchell of Barwick; and also ordonit his beanes to be tane vp, and to be buried honnорably in the ancient buriall place of his predeceffours in Kingorn.

Efter this, the marchall of Barwick tok sic hauy displeasour, because of his promyse, and that the appontement quhilk he had maid with the castell of Edenbrough was not kepit, that he wald tary na langer in his

office at Barwik, feing that he had tint his credit and reputation. For he wes a plain man of warre, and loved sa Grange with his hart, that he spaired to cast doun the houses of Ceatoun and Nidre at his request, the tym that he cam in to cast down the house of Hammiltoun; lykwais all the captens of Barwik lamented the los of sic a worthy capten.

The Regent tryumphed for a whyll, because of the gret assistance that England had maid to him, quhilk they had not done to any of the formair Regentis, bot rather sterit vp parties and factious against them, to hald the contre in discord. The causes that moued them sa till assist him wer, that they beleued the auld jelousies betuen the Stuartis and Douglassis fuld tak ane end be him; the yong King being in his handis to be disponit vpon at his pleasour; the Quen his mother being alredy captywe in ther handis; quhilk tua only mycht jun England and Scotland in a monarchie. Therefore abone all vthers, the gyders of the court of England for the tym, wiffit them tua to be out of the way, asweill for the gret offences done be them to baith King and Quen, as for the desyre they had in destroying that race and lyn, to place some of ther frendis to succead vnto the crown of England. Sa thinking that the Regentis mark in Scotland and thers in England wer conformable, they set him vp, they fortified him, and establiffit his regiment.

P. 139. Bot God of his gudnes sufferit not ther pretences to tak effect; for the Regent wanting aires of his awen body, and having na compeditours to stay him fra doing any thing that he pleasit, when he thocht the tym meit, he drew matters at lenth; and in the mean tym set his haill study how till gather geir, and how till fouk out substance baith fra England and Scotland; mouyng therby England to repent ouer lait

for the want of the lard of Grange, and for that they had not kepit him in England, to haue bene ane auband ouer the Regent head, as he kepit the King to be ane auband to them. And as he was crafty, he was fearfull and flaw of nature; and he thocht the Erle of Angus his brother sone yet ouer yong, and not capable to comprehend his hid intention, and therfor was lang in resolving. Seruyng his turn in the mean tym with England, as they did with all the warld; when they wer lyk to haue any trouble amang them selues, or with ther nybours, then he compellit them to fend him filuer; quhilk they did fair against ther hart, with a hid despyt and secreet hattrent at his flawnes on the ane part, and gredynes on the other.

This Regent held the contre vnder gret obedience in ane establisht estait, better than was many yeares of before nor yet sen fyn; for ther was not another Erle of Mortoun to steir vp the subiectis in factions, as he vsed to do against the rest of the Regentis. Quhilk maid him sa proud and disdanfull, that he dispyfed the rest of the nobilite, and vsed na mans counsaill bot his awen, and becam ingrat to all his auld freindis and faruandis; and vnder pretext of iustice, vsed to commit dyuers wrangis and extorcions; against the lard of Fentre, for a theif that had eschaiped out of his handis many yeares of before; against the lard of Seefeild, for a piece land; and against Mester James Thorne-toun, for his benefice. Sa as that he had tint the fauour of England, sa did he the hartis of all Scotland, bot only of George Afflek and Sanders Jardan. As for the lard of Carmychell, he lamented to me greuoufly of his ingratitude towardis him, and was myndit to leaw him, vntill I gaue him a counsaill, to help him self be the hurtfull experience of the lard of Grange, and my brother Walter Meluille, wha wes an

gentilman of the Erle of Murrays chamber. Quhilk twa tint him fa fchone as he becam Regent, and lykwais my self; for we had bene lang famylier with him, and had affisted him in all his troubles; bot when he was Regent, wald reprove, admonish and tell him his faltis, wherby we tint his fauour. And vthers that had ay bene in his contrair before, cam in and flatterit him in all his proceadingis, and bekkit wery laich to him, callen him “your grace” at ilk word. “Thir men,” I said, “wan him, and we tint him; and apperantly,” said I to Carmichell, “ye folow the lyk fulifche behauour as we did; therefore ye mon tak vp another kynd of doing, now sen your frend is becom Regent. Ymagen that ye wes never acquainted with him of before, bot entrit to serue a new maister. Cast never vp your auld and lang seruice; bek laich, “grace” him at euery word, find na falt with his proceedingis, bot serue all his affections with gret deligence and continowell onwating, and ye falbe fure of a reward. Vther wayes all the formair tym spendit in his seruice falbe tint, and he fall hat yow and tak a dispyt at yow, quhilk may bring on efterwart a greter wreck.” Carmychell gaif me gret thankis, and his hand that he suld folow this counsaill; quhilk he did restrictly, and becam a gretear courteour then euer he was, and was baith employed and rewardit, and had credit to do pleafour to his frendis; bot I fand him not thankfull efterwart to me for my counsaill.

P. 140. Now the yong King was brocht vp in Stirling, be Allexander Askin and my Lady Mar; and had for principall preceptouris, Mester George of Buchwennen and Mester Peter Yong, the abbotis of Cambuskyneth and Drybrough, branches of the house of Askin, and the lard of Dromwhaffell his Maiesteis maister houshald. Allexander Askin wes a nobleman of a trew, gentill nature, weill loued and lyked of euery

man for his gud qualites and gret discretion, in na wayes factious nor enuyous, a loue of all honest men, and desyred euer to haue sic as wer of gud conuersation to be about the prince, rather then his awen nerer frendis gif he thocht them not fa meit.

The Lard of Dromwhaffell, again, was ambitious and gredy, and had gretest cair how till aduance him self and his frendis. The tua abbotis wer wyse and modest; my Lady Mar was wyse and schairp, and held the King in gret aw; and sa did Mester George Buchwhennen. Mester Peter Yong was gentiller, and was laith till offend the King at any tym, and vfed him self wairly, as a man that had mynd of his awen weill, be keping of his Maiesteis fauour. Bot Mester George was a stoik philosopher, and loked not far before the hand; a man of notable qualites for his learnyng and knowlege in Latin poesie, mekle maid accompt of in other contrees, plaissant in company, reherfing at all occasions moralites schort and fecfull, wherof he had aboundance, and invented wher he wanted. He was also of gud religion for a poet, bot he was easely abused, and sa facill that he wes led with any company that he hanted for the tym, quhilk maid him factious in his auld dayes; for he spak and wret as they that wer about him for the tym infourmed him. For he was becom fleperie and cairles, and folowed in many thingis the vulgair oppinion; for he was naturally populaire, and extrem vengeable against any man that had offendit him, quhilk was his gretest falt. For he wret dispytfull inuectywes against the Erle of Monteith, for some particulaires that wes betwen him and the lard of Buchwhennen; and becam the Erle of Mortons gret ennemy, for ane hackeney of his that chancit to be tane fra his faruand during the ciuill troubles, and was bocht be the Regent; wha had na will to part

with the said horſe, he was ſa ſur of fut and ſa eaſy, that albeit Meſter George had oft tymes requyred him again, he culd not get him, and wher he had bene the Regentis gret frend of before, he becam his deadly ennemy, and ſpak euell of him fra that tym fourth in all places and at all occaſions. Dromwhaffell alſo, becauſe the Regent kepit all caſualtes to him ſelf, and wald let nathing fall till vthers that wer about the K., becam alſo his ennemy, and ſa did they all that wer about his Maieſte.

The Regent again, reuling all at his pleaſour, maid na accompt of any of them that wer about the King, vntill a diſcret gentilman callit Meſter Nycholl Elphinfoun aduertift him, how that he was invyed of many and hatted of euery man, ſpecially be them that wer in Stirling with the King; aduyſing him, (albeit ouer lait) to beſtow part of his gold vnto ſamany of them as he beleued wer wonnable. Wha, till ane that was in mean rank, he gaif twenty pieces of gold, at xx lb. the piece. What he gaif till vthers I can not tell; bot ſic as had ſpoken ill of him before, durſt not alter ther langage, becauſe of the Kingis wit and gud memorie, wha culd chek vp any that he perſauit had firſt ſpoken euell, and then began to ſpeak gud again; as his Maieſte had done till ane of the company, alleging that he had chengit his coit, as I was informed

P. 141. for the tym. Sa that the Regent was ouer lang in dealing of part of his gold to them that wer about his Maieſte; wha increſſing in yeares and knowlege, findre gentilmen began to ſut ſeruice and wer onwaters. Amang others, James Stuart ſone to the lord Ogiltre, a yong man of a buſy brain, a quyēt tanter, with mirry conceatis, and had ane aſpyring ſpirit, and with tym wan gret fauour and credit with his Maieſte, and not ſa weill lyked be them of the caſtell of Stirling. Yet he was

the mair ouer fean, becaufe he gaue continuell euell information to his Maieſte of the Erle of Mortoun; and ſa did alſo my L. Robert Erle of Orkeney, wha had bene wardit and hardly handled be the Regent, for ſome ſklent dealing with Denmark as was allegit.

The Regent being on this maner brocht in diffauour with his Maieſte, euen when he was vpon the heicht of the wheill, the Erles of Argyll and Atholl wer ſecretly practyſed, and drawen in to Stirling be Dromwhaffell, with the conſent of Alexander Aſkin meſter of Mar and Meſter George Buchwhennen; be whais aduyſe and conſaill his Maieſte was eaſely mouit to depoife the Regent out of his office. Wha yeldit and granted eaſelyer therto then any man wald haue beleued, and againſt the oppinion of dyuers of his frendis; and reterit him ſelf to the houſe of Lochleuen within the loch, for the ſurete of his perſonne, vntill he mycht vnderſtand what wes lyk to be folowed fourth thervpon, and what mycht be the nyxt beſt for him to do.

The Kingis Maieſte hauyng atteanit vnto the age[of twelve] yeares, ordonit a conſaill to ſit in Edenbrough, for the affaires of the realm; the Erle of Atholl to be chanceler, becaufe the Lord Glames wes a litle of before ſlain in Stirling, be the Erle of Crafford as wes ſuſpected; wha denyed the deid, and purgit him ſelf ſa far as he culd. The Erle of Argyll, with the meſter of Mar, taried in Stirling with the Kingis Maieſte.

During the tym that this new conſaill ſat in Edenbrough, the Erle of Mortoun, wha wes quyet in Lochleuen making the allees of the garding euen, his mynd was occupied in the mean tym vpon cruiked paithes, with a complot how to be brocht in again to be maiſter of the court. Quhilk was accompliſſit vpon a nycht at midnycht, when he

cam to the gettis of the castell of Stirling. They wer oppenit vnto him be the tua abbotis, and a faëtion that they had drawen in ther with them, albeit, the Maister of Mar and the Erle of Argyll maid the resistancethey culd, wher the Mesters eldest sone died in the thrang. Yet the party enterprysers preuailit, wha brocht in again the Erle of Mortoun, and pat out the Erle of Argyll, the Maister of Mar, Drom-whaffell, and sic vthers as they mislyked, and sa maid a new chenge in court; wher the Erle of Mortoun handled the matter sa discretly and moderatly as he culd, that the alteration fuld not seam to be our schairp or violent. Bot the new chosen consaill skatterit incontinent; some of them retiring hame, and some junit with the Erle of Morton, trowing never to se a tourn again.

About this tym, cam heir out of France my Lord of Obeny, wha was efterwart maid Duc of Lenox; wha was brother sone to the Erle of Lenox, and obteanit efterwart gret credit and fauour. And James Stuart of Ogiltre, of whom I haue maid mention, affistit him with proces of tym, to perswad the Kingis Maieste to desyre to ryd out of Stirling, and mak a progress amang the rest of his subiectis; quhilk the Erle of Mortoun wald not resist, supponyng that it lay in his power to fram the court at his plesour; be his gret substance, to won sa many as he thocht necessary; and be the multitude of his frendis, to bear out his busynes, howeuer the court was rewled, efter that he
P. 142. had obteanit ane discharge and allowance of his handling during the tym that he was Regent, abyding always starkest about the King. Bot my L. Obeny and James Stuart wer starkest in fauour; wha be ther continowell rounding in his Maiesteis ear against the Erle of Mortoun, engendreth at lenth a mair mislyking in the King of him, then

he had before; James Stuart being the sterer vp of the other. And efterwart, when he thocht the tym convenient, he tuk occasion till accuse the said erle, before the confaill, of the lait King his mourther; wherupon the Erle of Mortoun was constitut prifoner, and fend first to the castell of Edenbrough, and efterwart to the castell of Dombartan. Quhilk was thocht strange, in respect of his many frendis that wer in court for the tym, wha wer then found to be bot frendis of his fortoun; for he was louit be nane, and envyed and hatted be many, sa that they all loked throw ther fingers to se his fall.

England wer also angry at him for the tym, becaufe of his flawnes till outred sic turnis as they hopped for at his hand, having put the King and contre in his power. Yet they maid some contenance to help him, quhilk was rather the cause to haist his wrak; for they fend down to the borders some companyes, to the number of xvij^e, boisting to fend in a greter number, and to declair open warres incaice that the Erle of Mortoun wer not fet at liberte, and the Lord Obeny put fourth of Scotland. Mester Randolphe wes fend in with this ambasad.

His Maieste again, having thir tua yong men about him, wha knew of na parelis, raifed a taxation to pay wageours, and caused mak a proclamation euery man to be in a redines; quhilk moued the Englis to reteir, and leaue aff fra any farther procuring or making of assistance; encuraging therby sa many as wer deadly ennemys to the Erle of Morton, to ryd to Dombartan with the forces of a thowsand wagit hacbuters, by ther awen frendis, and brocht the Erle of Morton bak again to Edenbrough, to thoill asyfe and to be justified. Then some of his frendis convenit, bot wer not stark anough to raue him out of ther handis; quhilk they mycht haue done, wer not the forces of hacbuters

that wer newly tane vp, for the countenance and boist that England had maid.

Being brocht till Edenbrough, he fand few frendis to do for him. His gould and filuer was transported lang of before, be his sone naturall James Douglas, and ane of his seruandis callit Jhon Makmoran. It was first caried in barrelis, and efterwart hid in some secret partis; and part therof was geuen in keping to some that wer supponit to be frendis, wha maid ill compt of it again; sa that the maist part therof leichted in frembd handis, and him self was sa destitud of filuer, when he past throw the cassie to the towbuith to thoill ane asyfe, that he wes compellit to borow xx s. to distribut to the pure that askit for Gods faik. The asyfe condemnit him to the death, as for being airt and part of the Kingis mourthour, and as being of consaill with the Erle Bodowell, wha brocht him out of banissement when he wes absent for the slauchter of seigneur Dauy. He granted that he was maid preuy therto, bot was not a deuyser therof. And as concernyng the yong King, he purposed to put him in England for his weall, and that he mycht the rather obtean his rycht to the crown of England, being within the contre and brocht vp amang them. He died resolutly, and had endit mair parfytly, gif he had declaired and confessit his warldly practyses, and fetches to enterteny the ciuill troubles, partly at the deuotion of England, and partly for his awen particulier proffit, during the gouernement of the first thre Regentis; quhilk was cause of gret bludschedding, that cryes vp commounly vnto the heauen.

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P. 143. During the Kingis yong yeares, the parcialities wer fa gret, and the haill contre fa parturbit be the twa parties, that allegit them felues to feicht and flyt and ftryue for the King and the Quen, hir Maiefte being captywe in England, and the King yet very yong, that many parfaued them to be bot factious, faffchious, ambitious, gredy, vengeable, warldly, wretchit creatours; and baith parties craftyly fterit vp, and halden tu be a only faction in England, wha had that Quenis ear; intending the wrak afweill of our yong K. as of our Quen, to fet vp some of ther frendis to bruk the crown of England; quhilk moued [*dyuers vthers to cry out against the foly of our nation and the malice of our nybours; thir few verses wer fet out amang many vthers be ane that had na will his name fuld be knawen.*] many to cry out against our fulifche contentions, some in proife and some in meter, as this that follows for ane.

Laft when our lordis lay parkit in ane camp,
 My tent wes ftent befyd them in the park,
 Phebus be day, Lucyne the nichtis lamp,
 The-ftarris haill gaue leicht when it wes dark;
 All creatures avating on ther wark,
 Saif only man, declynand in his kynd;
 I faw and fched, and faid thus in my mynd.

All maner thing for mannis vse is maid,
 Man till ferue God, his nybour for to lowe;
 All keipis dew course, bot man his lyf dois leid
 In woffull wrang, his vice dois him fa moue,
 Wha till Goddis gloir, and not his awen behoue,
 God did him schaip vnto his fimilitude.
 Wher is Godis lyknes, what dois man that is gude?

They hald na reull, they schew na found exemple,
 Na societe they fet them till sustean;
 Ther bailfull bodys, quhilk fuld be Godis temple,
 Ar full of pryd, of hattrent, and vnclean.
 They say na fuith, I maruell what they mean;
 All vther thingis persistis in ther degrees,
 The earth geues corn, we get fruit af the trees,

The feildis ther floiris, of birdis thair plaifant fang,
 The fowlis gifis fuid, the sea gifis fiche anough,
 On hors we ryd our journes oft and lang,
 The ox is ydand euer in the plouche,
 Of scheip our claith, our fyre fourth of the heuch.
 All thy warkis, Lord, delytis to geue the gloir,
 Bot only man declynes ay more and moir.

In this, as my nychtis watche cam me about,
 I spaiced a part fra all the rest allain;
 That wilfome nycht, when gret cauld wes thairout,
 Ane voice I hard making ane drery mean.
 Then I drew neir, and sat down on ane stain;
 My body grewed, my hair start vp for fear;
 The voice spak lowd, and I gaue deligent ear

"Till God I mon deploir my grevous smairt;
 Soir I am hurt, and of help hes gret neid;
 My wound is inwart, my harme is in my hart,
 Hard to be heild; my bowelis all dois bleid;
 Wha can me cure, wha may me mend or feid?
 Myn awen, whom I haue nurist from their youth,
 Has done me till this strang thing and vnkouth."

As I this hard, I had na further fear;
 Kair was schone chengit intill compaffion,
 Thinking schroid sonnes, or fouldarts, for hir geir,
 Had sa opprest some honest mattroun,
 Eyther of Leith or of Edenbrough town.
 Then pertly said I, "Schew me I prey yow, dame,
 Wha has this done, and eik what is your name?"

Sadly said sche, "Scotland, your kyndly mother;
 On all degrees gret cause haue I to plean;
 Ye hait, ye hurt, and hereis ilk ane other,
 And paice in me ye will not let remain.
 Ye loith religion, justice ye haue flain;
 Will is your gyd, to raifoun ye gif na plaice;
 I mourn, I weip, I cry alaice, alaice."

"I call to God, wha man mak me redrefs;
 Ye can do herme, bot nane of you can haill;
 Me to releawe, and reward your madnes,
 Restoir me myn, punis you for your faill,
 Onles ye repent and your fins bevail,
 Rendring to your prince obediens and plaice
 To reull me as they aucht, in justice and paice.

“ All princely powers ar plantit in be God,
 To mentean richt, till punis wrang and vice;
 Whether they represent Godis loue or his rod,
 Subiectis fuld displaice nane fra ther office;
 As God dois command, do them dew seruice;
 Till Ceasar Ceasar's, till God only belangis
 To tak accompt of princes for ther wrangis.

P. 144. “ God reules be mercy more then be his mycht;
 The warldis rafche reull is bot vexation;
 Guid princes reull is just, gentle and leicht;
 Lordis reules with gret oppreffion;
 Minifters mon reull without discretion;
 Barrons wan reull makis lordis on them till ryd,
 Bot burges bene reull may learn the leaue to gyd.

“ God not allowes the lewd lyf of ill princes;
 The Lord diflykis the warldly foul infection;
 He abhores thir lordis proud pretences,
 Nor pafteurs that juns with frendis for faction,
 Not content with confelis corruption;
 And als that barrons ar becom fic beaftis.
 All vnricht reull God vtterly deteftis.

“ God knows abufe to be in all eftaitis,
 He knows what prelatis commit fymonye,
 He knawes wha caufes fteir vp thir debaitis,
 In dromely watters to fifche commoditie;
 Of fuch profeffours the hypocrefie
 He feis, of Juges the deffyled handis,
 And how some lawers conkis cleantis landis.

"Think ye that honnour confistis in vain weidis,
 Or noblenes in outward braggis and bruitis?
 Gentilnes is kythed be noble deidis,
 As kyndly trees are knawen be ther fruitis;
 Vertu wirkis alway, and executis
 Hir worthy warkis, vphalding ay the gud
 Against the warldis vyll ingratitud.

"The warld I call ane monstros fort of men,
 Led with passions and cled with yngnorance;
 They loue, they hait, they fauour, they misken,
 Folowing ay false fortunes inconstance;
 Wraking the gud, the wicked they aduance,
 A hydeous heap composd of hyders headis;
 Ye hait him maist that offers meit remeadis.

"Honour is tint, athoritie is reft,
 The Quene retenit in captiuitie;
 Promys is broken, obedience is left,
 Rebellion dryues away dewtie;
 Loue is ouerlaid with hypocrefie,
 Treuth is fled, and I tyn patience,"
 (The wyf said weping) "to se sic variance.

"Of subiectis against ther superiours,
 Of faruandis that dois ther maisters betray;
 Then gret fische feidis on ther inferiours,
 The mother and sone dayly into pley,
 The husband his wyf, the wyf her man wald fley;
 The dochter in law haldis her gud mother in sturt;
 All ar inclynit to do till vther hurt.

"O serpentis feed, why lay ye not a fyd
Your poison, when ye get posterite?
That ther complexion mycht be clean and void
Of your corruption and perversitie;
As dois some serpentis with fisches in the see;
At ther metingis nane will ther maik defyll;
Bot ye pafs not how many ye begyll.

"I mean the serpent amorous of a fische
Callit Murena, or euer he com neir,
First spoutis fourth his venome, syn fi flis hisch;
At whais whiffling, Murena with mery cheir
To meit hir maik with speid fche dois compeir
Bot ye are lyker to vipers generation,
Vndoing other without compafsion.

"When vipers gendres together in ther kynd,
The maill in femelis mouth putis in his head;
Then fche again, maist crewell and vnkynd,
Bytis aff the fame, wherthrow he getis his dead:
Syn an flap throw the mothers fyd is maid
Be her awen cankred kitlins fche is keild,
And they euen fa ar used in ther eild.

"The gretest wrak that may com in ane land,
Is in it self to haue diuifion;
Ane end a rod, the other is an wand,
To plaig them felfis with my perdition.
The iust reward of ther defection,
They drink the dregis of Godis wrath and yre;
Com hunger and pest, ye haue elis sword and fyre."

As I beheld methocht ane forowful sicht
 To see the wyf mak dull sa dolorous,
 To me allane schawing baith wrang and richt,
 That I inquyred of this stait parellous,
 The cause that makis them to be quarellous,
 What successe mycht enfew vpon ther dedis;
 She bad me wret what thow heirafter redis.

Yet I asked at hir to know be name,
 Whom sche thocht cheifest cause of hir distress;
 Sche said, "My sone, I wer worthy of blame
 Gif I fuld not some of ther names express,
 Thoch dyuers vthers heirin dois transgress;
 Thir few mens factis maist fercely wholmes the whell
 On me, them felfis, and on ther commoun weill."

P. 145. Efter that the Erle of Mortoun, the last of the four Regentis, was depofed, the Kingis Maieſte being yet yong, of yeares, tok the gouvernement in his awen handis. My Lord of Obeny, being maid Lord of Dakeith and efterwart Duc of Lenox, was cheiffeſt about his Maieſte; and James Stuart of Ogiltre, wha efterwart tok vnto him ſelf firſt the ſtyll, and ſyn the erldome of Arran to him ſelf; thinking that he had deſerued weall for the accuſing and wraking of the Erle of Mortoun; and alſo tok vnto him the Erle of Marche wyf, baith without any gret richt or raifoun. The Duc was of nature vpricht, juſt and gentill; laking the experience of the eſtait of the contre; at the firſt maiſt gydit be James Stuart and his wyf; wha baith began ſecretly to enuy him, and ſe how they mycht caſt him, that they mycht haue the gyding ther allane. And for that effect they gaue him wrang aduyſes, and ſineſter informations againſt findre of his beſt frendis, moving him to ſodain wraith, without trew tryall, to ſtart at them. Quhilk being parfauit be ſome that lovit him for the Kingis cauſe, it was oft tymes remedied, and vther tymes preuenit; bot it was ſa oft renewed again, that at lenth it tok the deſyred effect; not without the practyſes alſo of England, wha be ther ambaffadour ſterit vp findre againſt him, alleging him to be a papift, altogither at the Duc of Guiſe deuotion, and therfor a dangerous man to be about his Maieſte. Bot his cheiffeſt falt was, that he being trew to the King, he was thoct vnwonnable to ther behoue, as he wes indede. Meſter Daud Magill, and Meſter Hendre Keir wer his cheif confellours; baith wyſe enough

for ther awen proffit, bot cairles of his standing, therefore vnmeit to reull him wha wes in gretest fauour with his Maieſte. He firſt was alterit vpon his loving frend the Meſter of Mar, capten of the caſtell of Edenbrough, lykwayes vpon Sir Willyem Stuart, capten of Dombartan, vpon Allexander Clark, proueſt of Edenbrough, and vpon the Erle of Gowry treſorere, at the inſtigation and wrang information of the Erle of Arran and his wyf.

Then the reſt of the nobilite wer miſcontent, to ſe thir twa yong lordis cheif doers in court, ſupponing them baith to ſchut at noble-mens lyues, for ther landis; and albeit ſome of them miſlyked the Erle of Mortons proceedingis, they thocht the wey taking of his lyff ane hard preparatywe. Therefore a number of them conſulted together, before they had ſufficient proif of the Duc of Lenox gud qualites, to diſplace baith him and the Erle of Arran; and at leaſt to ſend them baith hame, the ane to France, and the other farther aff, incaice he eſchapit with his lyf; in the mean tyme, to thring them ſelues in about the yong King, and keip him, vnder pretext of a neceſſary reſourmation; and his Maieſte being environit with ther forces, to preſent vnto him ane humble ſupplication, ſa ſchone as he ſuld com to Domfermeling, wher he had apointed to com at his retournyng out of Atholl, wher he wes for the tyme at the hunting.

P. 146. At this hyland hunting his Maieſte was very quyete, only accompanied with his domiſtykis. The Duc of Lenox taried for the tyme in Dakeith, the new Erle of Arran at Kynneill. Many of the conſaill wer appointed to hald juſtice aires in dyuers ſchyres of the contre. I wes appointed, with my L. of Newbottill, Meſter David Magill and

Mester Jhon Schairp, to hald the justice aires of West Lowdien in Edenbrough; wher ther cam to my bedfyd tymely in a morning a gentilman, alleging that I had done him plesour sometymes, quhilk he culd never recompense till that tym, that he suld mak me the instrument to faif the Kingis Maieste my maister, out of ther handis that wer vpon ane enterpryse to tak him and kepe him. I said, I culd not beleue that; bot fearit that the Duc of Lenox, wha wes to pass till Glasco to hald justice aires, suld be in danger for the hattrent born against him, specially for menteanyng of the twa bischoppis of St Androwes and Glasco. He said again, "They will lay handis vpon the Kingis Maieste, and then the Duc and the Erle of Arran dar na mair be sean; for ther insolency and misbehauour is cause of the present disorder, and enterpryse to present ane supplication against them vnto his Maieste." And efter that he had tald me the names of the noble men, he willit me not to declair his name, bot the matter, to his Maieste, and that the turn wald be done within ten dayes. Now as I start vp to put on my clais, he slippit fourth with a schort fairweill.

Because the Duc wes at Dakeith, I raid ther and schew him the haill matter; aduyfing him to ryd him self vnto his Maieste with this aduertiffement, and for his awin securete. Bot he thocht metest to direct ane gentilman with all possible deligence vnto his Maieste, willing me also to wret vnto the Erle of Gowrye; for the gentilman named him not with the rest, other of forgetfulnes, or elis because he wes bot laitly won to that purpos be the Lard of Dromwhaffell; wha assured him that the Duc of Lenox wes determinit to fley him at the first meating, perswading the said erle to jun with the rest of the noblemen, that wer leterminit to reform the estait. Vnto the quhilk invented aduertif-

ment ouer fercely he gaue credit, and sa wes junit with the rest of the noblemen; that wer myndit to present this supplication folowing vnto his Maieste, at his commyng to Domfermeling.

“ It may seam strange vnto your hyenes, that we your maist humble and faithfull subiectis are heir convenit, by your expectation; bot efter your grace has hard the vrgent occasion that hes preffit vs heirunto, your Maieste will not meruell of this our honest, laufull, and neccessaire enterpryse.

“ Sir, for the dewtifull reuerence that we aw vnto your hyenes, and for that we abhor to attempt any thing that may seam displefant to your excellency, we haue sufferit now about the spaice of tua yeares, sic false accusations, calumnies, oppreffions and persecutions, be moyen of the Duc of Lenox, and him wha is callit Erle of Arran, that the lyk of ther infolency and enormities was never heirtofore borne with in
P. 147. Scotland. Quhilk wrangis, albeit they wer maist intollerable, yet wher they only teuchit ws in particulaire, we comported them patiently; euer attending when it fuld please your Maieste put remedy heirvnto.

“ Bot feing the perfones foirsaidis hes enterit planly to trouble the haill body of this commownweill, asweill the ministers of the bliffit euangill, as the trew professours therof; bot in speciall that number of noblemen, barrons, burgefes and commonaltie, that did maist worthyly in your hyenes seruice induring your youth; quhome principally and only they molest, and against whom they use maist extremitie and rygour of laues and pratickis, and oft tymes maist finifterly perverting the samyn for the greter vendication. Sa that ane part of theise your best subiectis ar exylit; ane vther part tormented and put to

questions, and with parcialite execut; and gif any eschaip ther barbarous fury, zit can haue na acces to your Maieste, bot ar falsly calumniat, invaset, and debarrit from your grace presence, and halden out of your fauour.

“Papistis and maist notable mourtherers daily callit hame, restored to ther formair honours and heritages, and oft tymes hyechly rewardit with the offices, rowmes and possessions of your maist faithfull faruandis. “Fynally, your estait royall is not gournit be the counsaill of your grace nobilite, as your maist worthy progenitouris vsed to do; bot at the plesour of the foirsaidis personnes, wha enterpryses nathing bot as they receaue directions from the bischoppis of Glasco and Rosse, your denuncit rebelles, having with them adjunit in ther ordinary counsaillis the Paipis nuncio, with the ambassadour of Spaine, and sic vther of the catholik papistis of France, as they euer labour to subuert the trew religion, and to spoile your grace of the crown. With theise forsalt-ed personnes, and with your mother, by the aduise of your estaitis, they trauellit to cause yow negociat and traffic; perswading your hyenes to be reconciliat with hir, and to associat hir with yow conjunctly in your autoritie royall; meanyng nathing vther therby bot to convict vs of vsurpation and trefoun.

“And sua having these your best subiectis out of the way, wha with the deffence of your minorite maintenit the part of the trew religion, as tua actions vnited and vnseperable, what elis culd haue ensowed and folowed bot the wrak and distruction of baith.

“For conclusion of ther prattickis, your haill natywe contre, for the quhilk, Sir, ye mon geue ane accompt to the eternell God, lyk as we

mon be answerable to your excellency, is so perturbed, altered and put out of frame, that the true religion, the common weal, your estate and person, is in no less danger, then when ye were delivered out of the hands of the cruel murderers of your father. What they are, we will not insist at this present.

“Sir, beholding these great dangers to be eminent and at hand, without speedy help, and seeing your most noble person in such hazard, the preservation whereof is more precious unto us then our own lives; finding also no appearance that your Majesty was forewarned hereof, but likely to perish before ye could persuade the peers; we thought that we could not be answerable to our eternal God, neither faithful subjects to your highness, if after our ability we prevented not this present distress, and preserved your Majesty from the same.

“For this effect, with devout humble and obedience, we your Majesty's true subjects are here convened, desiring your Majesty, in the name of God, and for the love ye bear to his true religion, to your country and common weal, and as ye would the tranquility of your own estate, to retire your self to some part of the country where your Majesty's person may be most surely preserved, and your nobility, who are under the peril of lands, life and heritages; and where your Majesty shall see the disloyalties, falsities and treasons of the persons forewarned with their accomplices, evidently proven and declared in their faces, to the glory of God, advancement of his true religion, your Majesty's preservation, honour and deliverance of your perturbed common weal and country, and to their perpetual ignominy and shame.”

P. 148. It is certane that the Duc of Lenox wes led be euell confellours and wrang informations, wherby he wes moued to medle in sic hurtfull and dangerous courfes, that the rest of the nobilite tok fufpition, and wer in fear of ther eftait be ane hard alteration. As for the Erle of Arran, they detefted his proceadingis, and eftreamed him the worft and maift infolent instrument that culd be found out, to wrak King, kirk and contre. Bot the Duc had bene tollerable, gif he had happenit vpon as honeft confellouris, as he wes weill inclynit him felf. He louit baith the King and commown weall; bot he wantit experience, and wes not verfit in the affaires of eftait, nor brocht vp in our religion, quhilk apperantly he wes lyk till embrace be tym. The Erle of Arran, again, wes a fcorner of religion, prefomptuous, ambitious, nedy and cairles of the commown weall, and a difpyfer of the nobilite and of all honeft men; fa that euery man loked for a fodane change, quhilk fuld haue bene maid in Domfermeling, in prefenting this abone fpecified fupplication. What moued the lordis to furpryfe his Maiefte within the houle of Huntintour,—fome allegit it was to imbark the Erle of Gowry mair deiply in ther band; vthers fayes that the lordis, fearing ther enterpryfe to be difcouert, maid the greater haift, and ftayed his Maiefte in that place; quhilk wes efterwart callit the Raid of Ruthven.

Efter that the Duc of Lenox wes aduertift of this enterpryfe, he fend for the Erle of Arran, wha wes peiceably paffing his tym in Kinneill; and tok in hand to ryd and faif the K., and boifted that he fuld chaife all the lordis in moufe hollis. Bot he wes chaffit, and faiffed him felf within the houle of Ruthven, wher they had fchortly maid ane end of him, wer not the Erle of Gowry, whais defteny wes to keip him alyue to be his wrak efterwart. Then the Duc of Lenox being aduertift that

his Maieſte wes in handis, reterit him ſelf to Dombarton. His Maieſte wes convoyed to Stirling, and retenit ther.

The King of France and the Quen of England, being inſourmed that the King wes tane and kepit, ſend baith ther ambaffadours in this contré, to confort his Maieſte, to ſe the maner, and to offer him ther help incaice he wald requyre the ſame, and declaire that he wes tane and keped againſt his will. Bot his Maieſte, eſter gret thankis geuen vnto the ſaidis ambaffadouris, willit them to declair vnto ther princes, how that he wes very weill content of the lordis that wer about him, and that they wer all his awen ſubieſtis willing till obey him; bot that they had conceaued ſome hard apprehenſions of the Duc of Lenox, and ſome vthers that had bene about him of before. Albeit, his hart wes full of ſorow and diſpleſour, as he tald me him ſelf efterwart; and euen then lykwais to Meſter Cairo, cuſing to the Quen of England, wha roundit in his Maieſteis ear requesting him to tell the plan verite, quhilk he fuld kepe ſecret from Meſter Bowes his marrow, and alſo from the lordis, but only fuld ſchaw his inwart mynd priuely to the Quen his meſtres. Albeit, it nether apperit be the ſucces to haue bene kepit ſecret, nor yet maid that Quen any farther inſtance for his libertie.

The lordis in the mean tym thocht meit to hald ane conſaill, and raifonit vpon ther beſt, and reſoluit that ther enterpryſe wes gud ſeruice to his Maieſte, the kirk and commoun weall; quhilk his Maieſte granted alſo to be trew. Wherupon ane act of conſaill wes fourmed and tane. And at that ſame time, the generall aſſemble of the kirk wes haldin at Edenbrough, to the quhilk his Maieſte wes moued to ſend tua commiſſioners, to teſtifie that his Maieſte had allowed for gud ſeruice the ſaidis lordis enterpryſe; willing the kirk lykwais to find it

gud for ther partis, and ordour the commissiouners and ministers of ilk
fchyre to publifs the fame to ther paroifchoners, and to get the princi-
P. 149. pall gentilmens subfcriptions to mentean the fame. Neuertheles his
Maieſte tok the matter farther till hart then any man wald haue be-
leuit, and lamentit his miſhandling to findre noblemen and vthers; and
at lenth maid ſome of them preuy that he intendit to releaue him ſelf
with tym out of ther handis that held him as captyue, and defyred dy-
uers of them that he lippenit in, to aſſiſt him with ther conſaill and
help.

The lordis again that wer junit together for the reformation of the
eftait, being quyt of the Duc of Lenox, wha wes paſt throw England
to France, wher he died ſchortly eſter of a ſeaknes contracted for dif-
pleaſour, and of the Erle of Arran, whom they kepit captyue, in the
cuſtody of the Erle of Gowry,—they reterit them ſelues from the court
to ther houſes, that his Maieſte ſuld not think him ſelf in any wayis
keped be them; for they had gottin ſome inteligence of his Maieſteis
inwart greif for his taking and retenyng. Wherupon his Maieſte tok
occaſion to appoint ane convention to be halden in Santandrowes, for
ſome Engliſh affaires, efter the retournyng of the crownell Stuart and
Meſter Jhon Coluill, wha baith had bene ſend ther, and had not agreed
weill concernyng ther commiſſion, and brocht back again dyuers an-
ſwers. To the quhilk convention his Maieſte directyd miſſyues to ſome
of the nobilite, bot to nane of the lordis that had laitly left him; ſup-
ponyng that they wald not com vnwreten for, and that way to ſlip him
ſelf out of ther handis, and hald about him ſic lordis as he had wreten
for; to wit, the Erles of Argyll, Huntly, Montroiſe, Craffort, Rothes,
and the Erle of Marche, wha wes ane indueller in St Androwes for the

tym, and the Erle of Gowry, of whom he thocht him self assured of, bot for some respectis wald not employ him till efterwart, lest the rest of his affociatis mycht allege that he had left them vnhonestly. For the said erle had repented him fair, that he had sufferit him self to haue bene drawen be Dromwhaffell to jun with the rest, efter he had fure infourmation how that the Duc of Lenox wes not layed for his schlachter, as wes allegit. Therfor he repented his foly, and offerit at all occasions to his Maieste to help to set him to his liberte.

Sa his Maieste thinking him self assured of all thir noblemen, the day apponted for the convention draweing neir, it pleasit him to send the crownell Stuart to my house, schawing that his Maieste having ane of the gretest turnis ado that euer he had, directed him vnto me as vnto ane of his maist faithful faruandis, and of whom he had gud proif be the trew warnyng that I had maid him before the alteration; as a sworn gentilman of his chamber, that I wald now help him to his liberte, quhilk he wes determinit to get at his being in Santandrowes, wher he wes till pass schortly to ane convention; and desyred my assistance and aduyse, and whais counsaill his Maieste wes myndit to follow sa lang as he lyued; willing me be resolut not to refuse any seruice that his Maieste will propone to me at meting, and efter I had resolut to be at his Maieste in Facland, with all possible deligence. This commissioun wes to me very vnplaisant, for I had tane my leawe from the court, as being tyred and wried with the many alterations that I had sean, baith at hame and in vther contrees, and had gottin gret trouble and dommage be them for vther mens cause; therefore wes determinit and inclynit to lead a quyet contemplatywe lyf the rest of my dayes; quhilk this purpos of my prince and maister wes lyk to put

me fra. In this perplexitie, I had recourſe be humble prayer vnto God, ſa to direct my doingis as that they mycht tend to his glory, and to the weall of my prince and contre; and then according to my deutifull obedience, paſt vnto his Maieſte.

P. 150. When I cam to his Maieſte in Facland, he tald me of his intention and deliberation; lamenting his hard eſtair and miſhandling be his awen ſubiectis, and what diſpleaſour he had tane; and how that he wes thocht bot a beaſt, be other princes nybours, for ſuffring ſa many indignities; with ſic vther ſpeeches as the crownell had declaired amply to me in his hynes name. I again diſcourſit vnto his Maieſte, the commown eſtair of all contrees during ther princes minorite, ſtryuing for ſtair and for the cheif handling, wherby to aduance them ſelues and ther frendis; as did the houſe of Guiſe, during the yong age of K. Francis 2.; the Prince of Conde, during the ring of K. Charles the ix. of France, and the King of Navar; lykwaſ the Duckis of Somerſyd and Northumberland, during the youth of K. Edwart the vj. in England; and afweill in the Quen his mothers tym as now in his awen tym; ſome till aduance ther awen affaires, ſome to deffend and meantean ther awen eſtair and ſurete, enterpryſes and ſtryffes; nane of the parties bearing any euell will to his Maieſte, euery ane being in loue with him, and wald be nereſt vnto his perſone, albeit ſome of them be oftymes tranſported, other be ambition gredines or vengeance, till ouerſhut them ſelues and forget ther dewty. Princes again that ar wyſe, when they com to parfyt age, haue euer found it ther beſt to pardone and ouerſee all ſic faltis as ar don at ſic hard tymes, be oure gret number of ſubiectis. As when K. Charles 9. agreed with the Prince of Conde, all his formair offences wer reckonit for gud ſeruice; “and as

your Maieſte has done, in agreeing with ſamany of your nobilitie as wer in fear, that the Duc of Lenox and the Erle of Arran wald hurt baith them and the eſtate of the contre, as they allegit.

“Now, fir, gif your Maieſte fall ſlip fra them, they will think ther eſtatis in greter danger, not be your ſelf, bot be ſome of ther vnfrendis that may fall in again about yow; and albeit they be preſently abſent, they haue baith a gard and ſome of ther frendis preſently about your Maieſte; and then they will not fail to kepe the convention, and be aſchone at Santandroues as the other lordis to whom your Maieſte hes ſend your wrettingis; for it ſtandis them upon ther lyues, ther landis and honnour, to be ſtill maiſters beſyd your Maieſte. Therfor ſaving your Maieſteis awen contentement of mynd, ye ar now in a better and ſurer eſtate nor ye wilbe, abandonyng them, incaice ye get it not weall done and brocht till paſs; wherein ther wilbe found greter difficulte then apperantly is als deaply confidderit as the cauſe requyres.”

All thir diſſuaſions had na force to ſtay his Maieſte from his formair deliberation; as having ſufferit ſome diſpleaſour, tok vp a princely courage eyther to put him ſelf to fre liberte or to dy be the way. Bot for to folow the exemples of vther wyſe princes, as he had begun him ſelf to allow for gud ſeruice the enterpryſe callit the Raid of Ruthven, ſa that being anes at fre liberte, he ſuld mak a generall law of obliuion, for all bygain faltis and errours committed be his nobilitie and ſubiectis during his minorite; and fra that tym fourth to be as a father to the contre, and ane equall prince to all his ſubiectis; na mans bluid, na mans land, geir nor office to be tane fra them, and to ſatiſſie the kirk; to agre parties to ſatle the eſtate, and to be ſeruit with the diſcreteſt perſonnes that ſuld be ſocht and found out in all the contre.

P. 151. His Maieſte promyſed alſo to be ſecret, conſtant, and conſellable; for the firſt, it wes thocht expedient that his Maieſte ſuld be in Santandrowes ſome few dayes before the convention; that being fre ther, ane proclamation mycht be maid to forbid any nobleman or vther to com to the convention without ane expreſs wreting. For that effect, it wes deuſed that the Erle of Marche ſuld requyre his Maieſte to be in St Androues, tua or thre dayes before the ſaid convention, be raiſoun of his preparation of wyeld meat and vther freſche fleſches, that wald ſpill incaice his Maieſte cam not to mak gud cheir with him ſome dayes before. Whervpon his Maieſte paſt fordwart, contraire to the oppinion of ſome that wer about him, wha durſt not tak the baldnes to ſtay him; bot part of them ſpak and ſaid, that it was not meit that his Maieſte ſuld ryd, before that the lordis wha wer abſent mycht be aduertift. Nevertheles his Maieſte paſt fordwart, and had apponted the Erle of Marche, the proueſt of Santandrowes, with ſome vther barrons to meit him at Darze. At quhilk meting his Maieſte thocht him ſelf at liberte, with gret joy and exclamation, lyk a burd flowen out of a kaige, paſſing his tyme in hacking be the way, efter the ſaid meting, thinking him ſelf then fur anough. Albeit I thocht his eſtair far ſurer when he was in Eacland; for he was logit in the auld Ins, a part very open, the yard dykes being his greteſt ſtrenth; and few of his lordis, that he had wreten for the ſecond tyme, to be at Santandrowes aſſchone as he, wer not yet com, except only the Erle of Crafford, wha was neir hand for the tyme in Contes-karney.

In the mean tyme, I parſauit the folly, and paſt to the proueſt of the town to knaw what forces he had within the town at his deuotion. He ſaid, very few, and that the commonte wer not to be lippenit vnto.

Then I askit, wha wes in the castell. He said, the bischop; wha was delt with incontinent, to haue the castell in a redines to resaeue his Maieste; quhilk he promysed to do. Bot when I returnit to his Maieste, and beleued that the proclamation had bene maid, na man to com to the convention bot samany as wer wreten for, I fand that the abbot of Domfermeling was arriuit out of Lochleuen, and the Erle Marchall out of Dundee. The Erle of Mar wes still with his Maieste, bot all the lordis wer aduertist with deligence from Facland, how that his Maieste wes riden sa sodanly to Santandrowes; willing them to mak haist to be ther, or else they wald com ouer lait. The said abbot for his part wes schone anough ther, and behaued him self sa extolling his Maiesteis enterpryse, that he retenit sufficient credit to cast down all ther deuyces that wer vpon the Kingis course; for he wes a speciall doer vpon the contrair fynd, and said that it wes not meit be proclamation to stay the nobilite, bot rather to wret missyues to them, not to come accompanied with ma than ten personnes with euery nobleman.

When his Maieste tald me this, I was very angry, and schew how that it wes the hye way to put him again, be craft and without thankis, in ther handis whom he had laitly left; and that without purpos, proceeding sa cairlesly as to folow ther awen counsaill against them selues; assuring his Maieste that they wer comyng fordwart very stark and in armes, and wer lyk to be schoner ther then the lordis that he had wreten for; and mycht com in quyetly them selues, and cause ther companyes com in twais and thres to the town; wheras it had bene better to let them com altogether, that ther haill forces mycht be fean.

P. 152. And yet his Maieste wes laith to enter within the castell that same nycht, for his greter secrete, vntill it wes very lait after supper; geuyng

them that wer ther alre dy, leafer till aduyse them, and till enterpryse that same nycht to tak him again, incaice he had past to the Abbey gard to walk, as they had perswadit him, vntill the castell wer prepaired. And some wer alre dy entrit within the said gard in armour for that effect; wherof some suspition wes tane, and therefore his Maieste being aduertised, chengit purpos in passing by the gard get to the castell.

The nyxt day, the haill lordis asweill send for as on send for, arryued at Santandrowes. The Kingis lordis quyet without armour, the other lordis very stark in armour. The Erle Marchall, the Erle of Mar and the abbot of Domfermeling, logit within the castell with his Maieste; wher the wyly abbot gaif the King counsaill, to let nane of the lordis com within the castell, accompanied with ma than xij persones; he feamyng euer to be vpon the Kingis oppinion. This crafty counsaill being folowed, the nyxt mornyng the castell was full of men for them of the contrair party, weall armed, and wha had tane the stair headis and galleries alre dy, mynding again to be maisters of K. and all the rest. Quhilk being ouer lait foirfean, diligence wes vsed to bring within the castell incontinent all the Erle of Marches gentilmen, with the yong lard of Darze, the lardis of Balcomy, Segy, Forret, Barnis, the gudman of Fengis, and samany of the town as wer at the prouestis deuotion; quhilk remedied that enterpryse for that nycht. The Erle of Gowry was also a gret stay in that matter. Albeit he cam ther also stark and also angry as any of the lordis, yet he wes aduertist of the Kingis gud will towardis him, and wes won and drawen fra the rest. Sa that dangerous day being ouerpast without any harm done, the nyxt day sic gud ordour was tane, that his Maieste was maister of the castell; and folowed na mair the said abbotis counsaill, bot declaired his

moderat mynd to all the lordis, and to the Fyf barrons, and townis of the coist fyd, wha had bene sent for; and lykwayes to the minifters and maifters of the college.—“ That albeit he had bene detenit a whyll againft his pleefour, yet his intent wes not to imput it as a crym, nor na vther thing done in his minorite; bot wald put in obliuion all byganes, fatiffie the kirk, agre parties, and be equall to all his fubiectis; knawing nane of them to bear him any euell will, and that they wer dryuen to do any thing that they had enterpryfed, be the force of ther awen fafchious partialites;”—with many vther wordis of his clemency and difcretion, to all ther contentementis. And thereafter he ordonit four lordis, tua of euery faction, to reteir them for a whyll, to wit the Erles of Angus and [Mar] Bodowell, and the Erles of Huntly and Crafford; reteanyng all the reft about him as indifferent, for his ordinary confaill, by whais aduyfe to fattill his eftait, and thereafter to bring again to court the haill lordis abone named. Then his Maiefte callit for me before a nomber of the faidis lordis, and gaif me greter commendation and thankis than I had merited, as the only inftrument vnder God of his libertie. His Maiefte caufed alfo mak a proclamation, conform to his formair fpeeches and moderat intention. Bot I tok na pleafour to be prayfed, in the prefence of fa many; anfwering to his Maiefte, that I had the ill will alredy of famany as wer vpon the purpos of his detention.

P. 153. Now matters being fattedled as apperit, and lyk to tak gud succes, fome of the Kingis lordis that had bene flaw in commyng, and when they wer com, finding the lordis of the contrary faction at Santandrowes ftark and in armour, had denyed that they knew any thing of his Maiefteis enterpryfe, bot layed the haill bourden vpon the crownell

Stuart and me. Now again when they saw apperance of a prosperous successe, they took the matter stoutly vpon them, and began in plane confaill to tell, how lang they had bene vpon the confaill of that enterpryse with his Maiestie, and wer lang attending vpon his aduertissement.

Of a treuth his Maiestie wes of a mercifull mynd, and gently inclynit towardis all the nobilite, intending to won all ther hartis be his awen discret behauour. And to that effect he past first to the house of Ruthven, to lat the contre see that he was entierly reconcylit with the Erle of Gowry; wha efter he had maid his Maiestie a gret banket, sat down vpon his knees, lamenting that his Maiestie fuld haue bene retenit in that vnhappy house at his last being ther; quhilk he said chancit rather be accident then deliberation, only for the saffete of the Erle of Arranslyf. Alleging that he knew na vther thing bot, at his Maiesteis being in Domfermeling, they wer all myndit to present vnto him ane humble supplication, abone specified; asking pardon for that accidentall falt, quhilk his Maiestie gratioufly promysed never till imput vnto him, knowing how blindlingis he wes brocht vpon it, be the practyses of vthers.

In this mean tyme, James Stuart Erle of Arran, had obteanit sa mekle fauour as to be wardit in Kynneill, his awen house for the tyme, send and congratulat his Maiesteis liberte, desyring that he mycht haue access to com and kifs his Maiesteis hand; quhilk wes planly refused. Then he send daily his oppinion and aduise unto his Maiestie, how till proceed against dyuers of the nobilite and vthers; thinking also meit to send and bring again vnto the court the Erles of Huntly and Craffort; quhilk wes ouer easely granted vnto, be the Erles of Argyll and Montrose; only the Erle of Gowry resisted, alleging that the Erles of

Bodowell [Mar] and Angus wer put in hope to be also brocht in again, afweill and affchone as they. Bot equalite that was looked for was forget; moving the Erles Marchall and vthers to draw them hame to ther houfes. The abbot of Domfermeling remanit ftill at court; and to won fauour of the crownell Stuart, then capten of the gard, he gaif him a purfe and xxx pieces of gold at four pond the pice; quhilk pieces the crownell diftributit to famany of the gard, wha borit them, and fet them lyk targetis vpon ther knappiskais, and the purfe was born vpon a fpair point lyk an enfeingze. The abbot fchortly efter wes wardit in Lochleuen; Mefter Jhon Coluill, the lard of Cleifch and Dromwhaffell wer also wardit, be the aduyce of the Erle of Arran and his wyf, wha folifted continoually his Maiefte that they mycht com to the court; and at lenth I wes requested be his agent James Stuart, now Sir James of , to be ane inftrument to deall with his Maiefte to permit the faid erle to com again to the court; for he faid that his Maiefte was fauourable anough, and that the Erles of Argyll, Huntly, Craffort, and Montroife had not only geven ther confent, bot that the Erles of Argyll and Montroife had faid vnto his Maiefte, that they fuld ryd them felues and fetch him; only the Erle of Gowry refifted; and that the K. had fchawen him that he wald do nathing therin without my confent and aduyfe. I faid again, that his Maiefte nedit not to feak my confent, gif himfelf and famany noblemen wer content. He replied again, that his Maiefte repofed vpon me at that tym, mair nor vpon all his confaill, as his Maiefte had fchawen him, and that he wald not bring him in by my confent.

P. 154. Wherupon I pafte vnto his Maiefte, and fchew him what langage James Stuart, feruant to the Erle of Arran, had halden to me, anent his maifters commyng to court; and how that his Maiefte,

laid ouer gret a bourthen vpon me, as to say that he wald do na-thing by my consent. Then his Maieſte tok me to the gallerie of Fac-land, and lamented, as he had bene inſourmed, the loſs of many of his beſt frendis; as the Erles of Lenox, Atholl, Duc of Lenox; “and now,” ſaid he, “the Erle of Arran, wha hazard his lyf to com and re-leaue me, they will not geue him leaue to com and ſe me.” Therefore his Maieſte deſyred me to tell him, what mycht be ther occaſion to hat him as they did. My anſuer wes, that to hyd the verite parellit his Maieſte, and the telling of the treuth parellit myſelf. His Maieſte wald nedis wit my meanyng therin. I ſaid, becauſe he is ane of the worſt inſtrumentis that culd cum about his Maieſte; wherof he had ouer hard a proif, being all the lait enterpryſe, only maid for his miſ-behauour; and gene euer he gat place again, the lyk or war fall follow therupon; “and my parell for telling your Maieſte the verite is, that he wilbe my deadly ennemy, incaice it be ſchawen vnto him again.” Then his Maieſte deſyred to let him com and kiſs his hand, and that he ſuld tary na langer; willing me to deall with my L. of Gowry, that he wald alſo grant that he mycht com bot anes to the court, and ſuld retourn incontinent to his houſe without any tary. I ſaid, I ſuld cauſe him yeld to his Maieſteis pleaſour.

In the mean tyme, I tok occaſion to declair vnto his Maieſte, how that many princes ar wraked be ther ambitious confellours, that will reull all ther allane, taking vpon them a greter bourthen then they may bear; for remedy wherof, his Maieſte ſuld ſpend euery day bot ane hour, to hear a choſen number of honeſt confellouris raiſoun vpon his affaires; then him ſelf to ſet fordwart his oppinion, that he can weall anough juge and vnderſtand to be the beſt and meſteſt to be

folowed fourth, as the K. of France vsed to do. Quhilk his Maieste granted very willingly, and sa lang as he keped that ordour, by the ordinary confaill dayes, his turnis went richtly fordwart. Of thir nomber wer the haill lordis that had affistid his Maieste, Sir Robert my brother, the crownell Stuart, the lard of Segy and my self.

Bot sa schone as the Erle of Arran gat presens of his Maieste, he not only stayerd at court, aganest promyse, bot also alterit within a schort tym all this kynd of preuy conference, to do all his allain. Albeit, at his first entre he vsed him self humbly. Efter he had kiffit his Maiesteis hand, he embracit me and kiffit my cheik; geving me many thankis in his Maiesteis presence; alleging that all the name of the Stuartis wer obligit to me, for the notable seruice he allegit I had done vnto his Maieste. And as for him, he said he fuld neuer tak any thing in hand, bot be directed be my brother and me and the lard of Segy. Bot the crownell and he spak not togither, vntill his Maieste willit me to agre them; quhilk I did at lenth. At the first the crownell fwoir a gret aith, that gif his Maieste sufferrit that vilain to remain in court, that he wald yet again vndo all. For a whyll he held him quyet, bot na apperance of his hame ganging.

P. 155. Somtymes he wald reproue my gentill kynd of proceading in his Maiesteis effaires, and culd not abyd to se them handled be a nomber; and pat in his Maiesteis head, that he wald find it a faschious busynes to be encombrit with many contrary oppinions; bot willit him to tak his pastym at hunting, and he fuld tary in and heir us, and report again at his Maiesteis retournyng, all our oppinions and conclusions. This he obserued tua or thre tymes; and in schortspaice chengit that ordour, and tok na mans aduyse bot his awen; yet said vnto his Maieste, that

he had all our counsaill and consent to cause his Maiestie folow a violent course, directly against his Maiesties first deliberation, intention and proclamation of clemency and forgetfulness of all thingis that fell out in his Maiesties minority: and caused make contrary proclamations against them of the raid of Ruthven, ordonyng them all to take remissions, for that quhilk of before was allowed for good service; moving dyuers noblemen and others to draw them far from the court for fear, till some places of security. And when he caused read before the counsaill his new invented proclamation, I opponit my self to it, saying that it was directly against his Maiesties mynd and promise. He lap out of the counsaill house in a rage, and said I wald wrack the King be my manner of doing. I said again, "Other ye or I;" with some schairp pricking language, so that it was stayed for that tyme; till efterwart he awaited a meet occasion to get it past, be a flattering faction that assisted him, tournyng all vpsyd down, putting a great number of noblemen and others in fear of their estate. And when any of us that were deuot to his Maiesties prosperous and quiet estate, wald schaw the dangerous and vnpartinent proceedingis of the said erle, his Maiestie wald be very fory, and said he maid him beleue that he did nothing but be common consent of the counsaill; and when his Maiestie vnderstod the contrary, was very earnest and willing to amend the disorder; but was still circonuenit be the said erle, and sic as for fear, flattery, or profit set forward all his pretences, casting for na parell.

About this tyme ther cam ane schairp wretting from the Quen of England vnto his Maiestie; wha thocht the noblemen that were put at, and were absent from court, metest instrumentis to be about his Maiestie, for the enterment of the amytie betuen ther Maiesties and countrees,

and wes not content to se them sa hardly handled. The cotype of the said lettre I haue inferrit heir in vnder, wreten with hir Maiesteis awen hand.

“Amongest your many studies, my dear brother and cusing, I wald Ifocrates noble lessoun wer not forgottin, that willis themperour his fouerain to mak his wordis of more accompt then other men ther aithes, as meiteist enseignies to schaw the trewest bagie of a prince armes.

“It moueth me muche to mon you, when I behald how diuersely findre wickit spritis distract your mynd, and bendis your course to cruckit paithes, and lyk all euell illusions, wrappit vnder the cloik of your best good. How can it be, that you can suppoise ane honorable answer may be maid vnto me, when all your doingis gainsay your formair woves. You deall not with one whais experience can tak dross for gud payement, nor one that easely wilbe begyllit. No, no. I mynd to set to scuell your craftyest confellours.

P. 156. “I am sory to se you bent to wrong your self, in thinking to wrong vthers; yea thoise, who gif they had euen then taken opportunitie to let a ruyne that wes newly begun, that plat wald haue parellit you more than a thousand of such mens lyues be worth, that perswad you to awow such dedes, to desyre a faltles pardone. Why do you forget what you wret to my self with your awen hand, schawing how dangerous a course the Duc wes entrit in; thoch you excused him self, to think no euell therin; and yet they that wer your faiffetie, conserued you from it, you most now seam to geue them reproche of giltie folkis. I hope you moir esteam your honour, then to geue it such a stayne;

fence you haue protested so often to haue taken these lordis for your moift effectiōit subiectis, and to haue done all for your best. To conclud, I beseech you pass no forther in this course, till you receaue express messenger, a trusty faruand of myn, be whom I mean to deall lyk ane effectiōit sifter with you; as of whom you fall se planly you may receaue honnour and contentement, with more suretie to your self and stait then all thoise discembling confellers will, or can bring vnto you; as knawes the Lord, to whoise moift saif keping I do commit you, with my many commendations to your persone.

“Your maist assured and faithfulest sifter and coufin,

“ELIZABETH.”

Vnto this lettre, his Maieste commandit me to minut ane answer in his hyenes name, that he mycht wret it ouer again with his awen hand, samekle of it as he fuld find meit; for the abbot of Domfermling, secretery for the tym, was in suspition to haue bene vpon the contrary course.

THE COPIE OF THE ANSWER.

“Madame, for congratulation of my liberte, I haue receaued a lang lettre of yours, accommodit at the entre with that sentence of Yfocrates, which willeth princes wordis to be more entierly obserued than other mens aithes; as thoch finester report were maid vnto you, of some forgetfulnes in me; or that ye fear, in tymes commyng, that I faill in keping of sic promyses vnto my frendis, as may be maid vpon iust and convenient occasions.

“For answer vnto that head, I remember asweill that saying of Yfocrates, as I do another, wher he wald not haue them halden for frendis, that allow or prayse whatsoeuer we say or do, bot rather sic as modestly reproue our faltis. So that I tak your schairp admonition at this tym, as proceeding of a sifterly loue, albeit vpon wrang information; hopping that sa schone as ye fall trewly vnderstand of my hard handling and patient behauour, ye salbe sa weill satisfied, as to discerne me to haue done nathing bot that which ye wald haue done your self in the lyk estait.

“First when I wes detenit captywe with a faire coulour, it pleseth you to send your ambassadours, lyk as did the K. of France, frendly to vesisit me, offering me gret kyndnes and help, incaice I nedit any for the tym; wherof I render you yet hartly thankis, alleging that I was weall content, and had gud frendis about me, quhilk wes very trew. For ane part of the same lordis that wer then about me, persauyng my greif and miscontentement, offerit euen then to releaue me, whensoeuer I wald desyre to be at greter liberte. Wherupon I maid you then that answer, quhilk ye mak mention of in your lettre, as I maid the lyk
P. 157. answer vnto the Frenche ambassadour. Neuertheles I was euer myndit at a meit tym to releawe my self, for my honnour, as I haue done presently; folowing another saying of Yfocrates, willing princes to hazard rather to die honestly, than to rengne schamfully. How I did regne for the tym, ye mycht knaw be your cusing Mester Cairo; in whoise ear I roundit familiarly my inwart greif, because he said ye willit him to requyre it at me a part, promysen that it suld be secretly kepit from all vthers. Albeit, I vsed not sic planes with Mester Bowes. Indeid I subscryuit sic wretis and lettres as the saidis lordis presented them vnto

me; for the tym wes vnmeit to disputouer precisely vpon circomstances, that wer futed and determinit be them that wer maisters of me and of the estait.

“This answer, I suppoise, fall satisfie your awen raifonable and equitable judgement, discretly discourfing the same with your self a part. I dout gene it will be fa interpret be vthers of your confaill, that haue any particulair courfes of ther awen; to whom because I imput the haill hard langage contenit in your angry lettre, and not vnto your self and gentill inclination, I think it not neidfull now to wret answer vnto euery point of the same. Sa attending patiently vpon your better intelligence and information in thir matters, I will rather hald in memory your formair frutfull frendfchip, then now to start at any wrang fet fillabe, or four sentence, plaicit in your paiper at the partiall instance of vthers.

“As concernyng that which tuechis the Duc of Lenox, his godly end has declared his honest meanyng; whais death I mycht justly lay vpon fuch as forceably remoued him from my prefens. Neuertheles I purpos to put all bygains in obliuion, and to compel na man to tak a faltles pardon.

“Wher ye defyre that I procead na farther, vntill a trusty meffenger may com from you; I intend to stay from doing any thing till then, that may justly offend you; albeit Yfocrates aduyfes princes spedely to execut sic turnis as gud confaill thinkis necessary to be done; wiffing that he wha falbe sent, may be afwilling to work the effectis of trew loue and frendfchip betwen ws, as I am affured it is baith our awen hartis defyre and intentione. Wherunto I prey the Lord to grant increafe, continowance and happy fucces, to his glory, weall and quyetnes of ws, and baith our realmes.”

The secretery Walfingame was he of whom mention is maid in hir Maiesteis lettre, to be sent in heir; bot he wes lang be the way, be raifoun that he wes fickly. In the mean tym, Mr Bowes wha wes ambassadour resident in Edenbrough, had resaut this lettre be the ordinary poist, and sent abak the answer. He declaired many commendations from my L. Burly and many of ther confaill, to my brother and me; alleging that they wer glaid that sic men wer about his Maieste, that wer of ther religion, and with whom they wer lang acquainted; wiffing many sic to be in court.

About this tym, the Erle of Arran obteanit the keping of the castell of Stirling, and ingyred him self fa far fordwart, that he tok vpon him the haill handling of the effaires, and caused findre noblemen to be baniffit; as the Erles of Mar, Angus, mester of Glammis, and dyuers vthers; and be his infolency drawe the Erle of Gowry from court, against his Maiesteis intention for the tym; wha send me for him to his house, to bring him again to court, quhilk was for the tym in Couper in Fyf. Wher his Maieste agreed him and the Erle of Arran; bot nathing wes kepit to Gowry; for he wes fa vexit and put at, that he tok purpos to leaue the contre.

P. 158. I haue alredy declaired, how laith I was that other his Maieste fuld leaue the lordis that wer about him, or that I fuld in any wyse be a medler again in court, be raifoun of the many dangerous alterations that I had fean, be lang frequentation and hurtfull experience. Yet the gret oppinion I had of his Maiesteis gud inclynation, religion, conscience, and constancy, I thocht of conscience and dewty I culd not refuse his requesting commandement, being my natywe prince and maister, and I his humble subiect and sworn seruant, as his domestik,

first in the office of gentilman of his chamber, and fyn of his consall. Bot efter his hyenes taking to be kepit for a whyll, I was na mair admitted be his kepers, wha thocht meit for ther surete, to place about his Maieste men to be hailely for them, and at ther deuotion. As for my awen part, as I wes forie that his Maieste suld be vsed bot at his awen plesour, sa I was content to be sufferit to lyue quyety at hame the rest of my dayes. Now again, persauyng his Maiestes projet, and acceptable proclamations flely and cunningly chengit, by his Maiesteis awen clement intention, in contrary proclamations, and violent persutis and proceedingis against them of the Raid of Ruthven, rendring therby ouer gret a number of noblemen and vthers dispaired of ther surete and lyves; in a lamenting maner I remembrit his Maieste, how he was handlit, and what gret inconvenientis wer lyk till ensue therby. His Maieste was very forowfull, and myndit till amend the difordour; bot aduyfed alwayes with them that wer the cheif instrumentis therof; beleuyng that they loued him and the weall of his effaires, because he loued them; they again making an outward schaw to satisfie his expectation, indirectly be the meanes of ouer many that dependit vpon the Erle of Arrans extraordinair credit and fauour, the contrary of his Maiesteis princely and vprycht meanyng was parfourmed, and folowed fourth, that many noblemen left the contre, and honest men left the court, to the gret contentement of the Erle of Arran and his wyf, to gyd all ther allane. And that they mycht the easelyer set fordwart ther course, they persuadit his Maieste to pass to Stirling, wher few or nane durst repaire, because the said erle was for the tym capten of the castell of Stirling, and prouest of the town. I was also reterit

from court, efter I had oft warnit his Maieſte of ſic dangerous proceedingis.

His Maieſte being in Stirling, aſkit oftymes for me, and regreted that I wes not continowally beſyd him. Wherupon the Erle of Arran deuyſed, that I ſuld be ſend ambaffadour to the Quen of England; aſweill to hald me abſent from his Maieſteis ear, as to tak occaſion at my retournyng to put me in ſome diſgrace; becauſe he was aſſured that I culd do na gud at that tym. And commounly, when mens commiſſions takis na gud effect, they ar callomnyat be ther vnfrendis and envyers, as vnmeit inſtrumentis, vnſkilfull and indiſcret; quhilk calomnies gettis oftymes ouer gret credit, when matters ſucceadis not confourm to the deſyre of the maiſter. Before that his Maieſteis wretting cam to my handis for the ſaid voyage, I had dyted a lang lettre to haue ſend vnto his Maieſte, as a remembrance of his formair promyſes and proclamations; and what inconvenientis wer lyk till enſew, in the ſetting fordwart of a contrary cours; together with ſic ſalutary and ſodain remedy as I culd think meteſt for the tym.

P. 159. The tenour of his Maieſteis lettre vnto me.—That he had ſome matters to communicat vnto me, wherin he intendit to employe baith my adwyſe and panes, and therefore that I ſuld addreſs my ſelf to be at him in Stirling with all convenient expedition, efter the ſicht of the ſaid wretting; wher I ſuld vnderſtand mair amply the occaſion of my ſending for, as I wald do him acceptable plesour and gud ſeruice. Wreten from the caſtell of Stirling, the 22 of October 1583.

Efter the recept of this wretting, I raid vnto his Maieſte, and tok with me the lettre quhilk I had pennit of before, as I haue ſaid; wherof the coppie folowes.

“Sir, As it has pleased your Maieſte heirtofoire accept my gud will for agreable ſeruice, euen ſa I hope that your Hyenes conſtant fauour ſhall continow towardis me, now and in tymes commyng, neuertheles of my preſent abſens and diſeaſe. For albeit that during your Grace yong aige, I wes ſufferit to lyue happely at hame, from the faſſchious handling of public effaires, yet I knew my ſelf obligit to bear my portionable bourthen in your ſeruice, ſa ſchone as it wald pleaſe your hyenes command and charge me therwith. Being then maiſt affured to walk in ane juſt and lawfull vocation, wherintill to geue continuall testimony of my dewtifull obedience, not preſumyng to geue your Hynes conſaill, haue only tane the baldnes to preſent vnto your Hynes in thir few lynes, my ſemple oppinion of thingis that ar apperantly to fall out vpon your Maieſteis lait proceadingis.

“For when it pleaſeth your Maieſte, at your firſt paſſing till Santandrowes, to tak vpon your ſelf the fre gouernement of your effaires, your Hynes gracious intention and propoſition then was not only maiſt agreable to the haill lordis, miniſters and barrons ther preſent for the tym, bot alſo to the reſt of your gud ſubiectis, when as they vnderſtode of your raiſonable pretence. Quhilk being now vtherwayes fallen out and interpret, then wes eyther firſt intendit or determinit, is able to breid commer and diſordour, onles your Maieſte, be wiſdome and dexteritie, preuent the apperant inconvenientis. For it pleaſeth your Maieſte then openly to declare, how that ye only ſocht, with your awen reputation and ſurete, the weall and ſaiffete of your haill ſubiectis, as maiſt willing to ſatiſſie the kirk, to agree parties, to put out of memorie the name of factions, and in perpetuell obliuion all crymes committed in your Maieſteis minoritie; acknowleging all ſic as

chancit to be done during the fame, bot to haue fallen out betwen subiect and subiect, for sic particulair respectis as your Maieſte neuer purpoſed till imput; bot to reinge ouer them all in tymes comming as ane gracious father, and that be aduylſe of the leaſt factious, beſt affected of the nobilite, barrons and vther ſufficient ſubiectis; and na man to be placit nor preferrit about your Maieſte, be fauour of ſurname, kin, frend or allia, bot for ſufficientcy, vertu, and loyalte. As alſo, gene any wer to be abſented or ſend hame for a ſeaſoun, it ſuld not be done at the inſtance of any inuious ſutter of his office, or particulair party, bot for your Maieſteis honnour and ſurete, during your pleaſour; leaving them ſtill in hope, throw gud behauour, till obtean again famylier acces about your Maieſte as of before.

“Gif this calm cours had bene folowed fourth, ther was apperance of ane quyet eſtair. Bot altering and chenging this gentill kind of doing, in ane ſchairp and violent perſut of findre, be ſeaking out of ouer many faltis in the perſonnes of ſa many gret and actyue men, it has bred ſic miſcontentment, and ſa furious a faction, that gene ſodane remedy be not prouydit, ciuill diſcention and deſpaired enterpryſes acht to be loked for, be all ſic as haue ſufficient experience of the nature of Scottis men, and ſeamly intelligence of the deportmentis of dyuers, quhilk the neceſſite of ther vnſure eſtair may weill dryue them haiftely till tak in hand.

P. 160. “It is true, that the ſtanding of commoun wealis conſiſtis mekle in rewarding of the gud, and puniſſement of the wickit. Na dout bot faltis anew haue bene done during your nonaige; bot to ſeak them out narrowly, and to puniſch them ſtraitly, in ſic caices, and at ſic tymes, in matters wher many haue dippit, is not beſt. And yet gif your

Maieſte wer willing, as I knaw perfytly ye ar not, I can ſe na outgait how to get it done againſt ſa gret a number, having ſa ſmall ſubſtance and forcis, and ſa mychty and aduantageous nybours, lying ſtill at the wait vpon all ſic contraverſies and occaſions, wherby to ſerue ther awen turn. This alſo acht to be preſently reſpected, that the wonted reuerence borne be the ſubiectis vnto the princely authorite of ther ſoueranis, is mekle decayed in this contre, be raiſoun of the Quenis youth and lang abſens; and euen ſa in your Maieſteis tym, for ſome of the lyk cauſes; cheifly becauſe that your Maieſte being yet yong, has bene accompanied this whyll paſt with the yongeſt and meaneſt fort of your nobilite, wha, albeit they be faithfull and affectionit to ſet fordwart your ſeruice, yet the reſt of your ſubiectis alleging them to be factious, yngnorant and nedy, doubtis of ther diſcret behauour, ſeing them pretend to eſtabliſch the eſtait be forces.

“Hardly may a prince aſſure him ſelf, at all occaſions, to chuſe a ſure courſe wherin ther ſalbe na parell. For commownly men thinking to eſchaip out of ane inconvenient, fall oftymes into another. Therefore prudency conſiſtis till vnderſtand the qualites of dangers, and to tak the leaſt euell for the beſt. Some kingdomes and countrees ar gouernit be force, and ſome be fairnes. On the other part, ſubiectis obey eyther for aw or loue. Then the prince is reputed eyther fecles or fearfull, wha can not won the hartis of his ſubiectis be ane of thir tua. For eyther mon the meanis be tane at anes fra men that deſerue to be ſuſpected, wherby they mycht do harm; or elis to ſatiſfie them in ſic fort, as with raiſoun they aucht to be ſa content, that they nether neid to deſyre, nor think it convenient for them to ſeak any

changement or alteration. Na man will deny bot that contre is maist happy and stable, wherintill the subiectis reioise and ar content, and ferue for loue and not for fear. Sa that it is eafy to juge, quhilk of thir twa kyndis of gouvernementis may be metest for your Maieſte.

“The emperor Trajan being demandit, wherfore his subiectis loued and honored him abone his predeceſſours, answerit, ‘because I forgeue tham that offend me, and neuer forgettis any that has done me gud seruice.’ Jull Pollux, preceptour to Ceasar, paintis out a vray prince to be of a devyn countenance, godly, mercyfull, juſt, equitable, cairfull of his effaires, conſtant in his dedis, trew in his promyſes, ſubiect vnto raiſoun, maifter ouer his affections, fecfull and fatherly towardis his ſubiectis, of eafy acceſs, gentill to be ſpoken vnto, redy to forgeue, ſlaw to puniſh, princely, liberall, ſubtill, ſecret and ſcharpe of engyn, &c.

“Now because it apperis your Maieſte in youth, has bene ſufficiently verſit in many of thir verteous preceptis, I wiſh from my hart that ſic impreſſion mycht be aſweill tane of them that ar preſently about you; ſeing that princes ar comownly demed to be lyk vnto them whom they mak ther maist famyliers.

“Therefore, fir, for eſchewing of all thir euelis, and for to put nereſt remedy vnto all the apperant inconvenientis, it is meit, ſa ſchone as it
P. 161. may pleaſe your Maieſte, paſs till Edenbrough, to convene the maist ancien of your nobilite, and barrons of beſt reputation; be whais aduyſe, together with thir that ar alredy in court, your contre may be quyeted, and your ſubiectis ſatiſfied. For now, as matters ar handled, to ſpeak of clemency, be cauſing them tak remiſſions, it will want credit and be euell interpret, as not conform to your hynes firſt declairation.

“The emperor Adrian sperit out all men of gret age and experience, and helpit him felf be ther many parelis.

“Alexander Seuerus wald parform na matter of importance, bot with aduyce of the maist ancientis, and best experimented. He never went out of Rome, vn being accompanied, with four or fyve of the maist honorable, ancient and graue perfonages, that nane fuld neid to fear that he wald commit any errour or racles turn. He never sufferit the fenat to conclud any weichty purpos, onles fyfty of them had bene present. He caused all his confellouris to put ther oppinions in wret, to se gene any wer posselt with passions or particularites. He chengit oft his cheif familiarite with findre of the fenat, incaice he wha had ayandonly the prence ear, mycht be ouercom with importunat presentis, budis and parcialite.

“The vrgent neecessite of the tym, maist noble and excellent prince, causes me to be sa langsome and tedious. Humbly craving pardon, and hartly kissing your Maiesteis hand, I prey the eternell, Sir, to grant your hyenes ane lang and happy lyf. From Halhill, this 15 of October, 1583.

“Your Maiesteis maist humble and obedient seruitour.

“JAMES MELVILLE.”

When I cam to Stirling, and schew his Maieste this lettre, he not only lyked weill of it, bot also promysed to folow the fame aduyse contenit therin, and lamented for the parcial dealing of many that wer about him. Only he said, that my brother Sir Robert wes vpon a found course for the quyeting of the estait; and that some noblemen

againſt whais parcialites he had oponit him ſelf, had diſcordit with him in his Maieſteis prefens.

It pleaſed his Maieſte alſo to tell me the cauſe why I was wreten for, was to be ſent in England, and trauell with the Quen ther, for enterthenement of the mutuell amytye, and increaſe of hir fauour and gud will concernyng the title and ſucceſſion to the crown, and aſſiſtance to help till eſtablifh his parturbit eſtait, be the infolence and particularites of his ſubiectis, bred and ingendred amang them during his minorite.

I anſwerit, that the tym wes vnmeit, and that England wald mak na accompt preſently of him, nor nane that mycht be ſent fra him, vntill firſt, he wald let it be ſean and hard that he culd ſattill his awen eſtait, and be wiſdome render his awen ſubiectis redy till obey him. That being done, they wald redout him, and eſteam him; and that the beſt and redieſt way till obtean alſo ſome day the crown of England, was to gyd Scotland ſa weall, as that they mycht grean and wiſe to be vnder the gouernement of ſic a prince.

Be this langage, his Maieſte was content that my voyage ſuld be ſtayed vntill a mair convenient tym. Sa I returnit fra court to my awen houſe.

P. 162. It is mentionit heir aboue, in the Quen of Englandis lettre, how that ſche was myndit to ſend a truſty ſaruant vnto his Maieſte, willing him to ſtay fra any ſtrait proceading againſt the lordis that wer put at for the Raid of Ruthven, vntill the arryuing of the ſaid ambaffadour; quhilke was the ſecretary Walsingame, a confellour of worthy qualites, and wha had gret credit with the Quen of England. Bot he wes of a feakly complexion, and mycht not indure the poiſt; therfore wes lang be

the way, caried in a cofche or chariot; fa that during his langfome voyage, the Erle of Arran paft ay fordwart, and forget the tenour of the Quen of Englandis lettre.

Sa fchone as his Maiefte was aduertift of the arryuing of Sir Francis Walsingame, I was fent for to com to court, and was directed to ryd and welcom him in his hynes name; and to bear him company, and convoy him about be Stirling to Sant Jhonftoun, wher his Maiefte thocht meteft part to geue him prefens. Willing me alfo to fay vnto him, that his Maiefte wes richt glaid of the commyng of fic a notable perfonage, wha was knawen to be endewed with religion and wifdome, and whom he eftemed to be his gud frend; being affured that his tedious trawell in his lang voyage, being difeased as he was, tendit to fome mair fubftanciall pointis, for the confirmation of the amytie betwen the Quen his fifter and him, then had bene perfourmed at any tym before.

The fecretary Walsingame gaif me answer again, that the gret defyre he had to eftablifs ane affured amytie betwen the twa princes and contrees, moued him to tak the embaffage in hand him felf; his Maiefte being the prince in this warld that he louit, nyxt vnto the Quen his meftres, and wiffit ratheft to fee and be acquainted with; and hoped alfo that his commiffion fuld fucceed the better, becaufe he met firft with me, his auld frend and only acquaintance in Scotland. For we had bene compaignons in other contrees; and dyuers tymes, when I was fend or paffing throw England, he wald haue me to loge and ly with him felf at Londoun, quhilk was caufe that we had the mair famylier conference. Wherupon I wret tua feuerall lettres, that his Maiefte mycht be the better prouydit to mak answer vnto fic headis as he

wald propone. Then we tok our journey throw Lithco to Stirling, and from that to Perth. He had hard that my Lordis Ceatoun and Li- uistoun wer wreten vnto to convoy him; bot he requested me to stay them, that he mycht haue the mair conference be the way with me; vtherwyse he wald be compellit to enterteny the noblemen. It may be, that it wes also to let se his awen gret company; for he had viii score horse in train. Being neir vnto the court, his Maieste fend out twa of the confaill to meit him, to wit my L. of Down, and my brother Sir Robert.

The nyxt day, his Maieste gaif him audience, accompanied with mester Bowes ambaffadour resident in Scotland. Ther first raifonyng was vpon his Maiesteis liberte, and wherfore he had left the company that wer about him, being the best and maist religious sort of his nobilite, and of her Maiesteis best acquaintance; and by whom sche wald deall in his affaires mor frendly then sche culd do with others, whom P. 163. sche culd not fa weill credit; with hard and schairp speaches confourm to his formair wreting. Wherunto his Maieste maid answer aff hand, fa grauely and directly that Walsingame wonderit. The nyxt day, his Maieste appointed four of the confaill and my self to be with him, to raifoun with him, and to se wherat he wald be. Bot he refused to deall with any bot with his Maieste, wha hard him again his allane, without mester Bowes; wher he discourfit lang with his Maieste. And when he cam fourth from his Maieste, he tok me be the hand, and said he was the best content man that culd be; for he had spoken with a notable yong prince, yngnorant of nothing, and of fa gret expectation, that he thocht his trauell weill bestowed.

The Erle of Arran desyred to enter in famylier conference with

him; bot he refused to ſpeak with him, and maid na langer tary, bot tok his leaue at his Maieſte, wha commandit me till accompany him to the ferry. And at our departing from vther, he promyſed at all occaſions to wret vnto me, and lamented that the Erle of Arran was again in court, and in ſic credit with his Maieſte; quhilk gene he had vnderſtand before he tok his journey, he wald haue ſtayed and ſufferit another to bene ſend. For he culd ſe na ſure courſe to be tane betwen ther Maieſteis, ſa lang as ſic inſtrumentis had greteſt credit about him. For he eſteamed the ſaid Erle a ſcorner of religion, a ſawer of diſcord, and a diſpyſer of trew and honeſt men; and therfore he wald not ſpeak with him, nor enter in acquaintance; for he was of a contrary naturell, religious, trew, and a louer of all honeſt men. Therefore Arran to be reuengit vpon him, ſpaired not to do a gret diſhonour vnto his Maieſte. Firſt for diſpyt that he refused to ſpeak with him, he cauſed reſuſe to let the captens of Berwik, and dyuers honeſt gentilmen that cam to convoy the ſecretary Walingame, the entre of his Maieſtes chamber dur; and then cauſed prepair ane ſcornfull preſent for him at his leaue taking, to wit a ring with a ſtain of criſtellin, in ſtead of a rich dyamont, quhilk his Maieſte had appointed for him, valuyng vij^e crownis; quhilk he was oftymes myndit to ſend bak again vnto his Maieſte, rather to let him ſe how he was abuſed, then how he was vſed. Some promyſe was alſo maid vnto him, anent the repairing of ſome wrangis done be Scottis men vpon the borders; quhilk he allegit wes not kept; for Arran did what he culd to diſpleaſe him, and to mak his commiſſion in all pointis vnproffitable, and his trauell to be in vain. Nevertheles he maid ſa gud report of his Maieſteis vertus and qualities, that it put him in ſome ſuſpition at his retournyng to the court of England; wher ſchortly efter he tok ſeaknes and died.

My oppinion is, that gene God had granted him langer lyf, he wald haue bene fond a gret frend vnto his Maieſte; wha maruelit that the cheif ſecretary of England, bourdinit with ſa many gret affaires, ſeakly and agit, fuld haue enterpryſed ſa painfull a voyage without any purpos. For he culd not yet perſaue what was his errand, ſaif only that he gaif his Maieſte a gud conſaill. Bot he being religious and of gud conſcience, was ſa deſyrous to ſe, and vnderſtand affuredly the lyk qualities to be in his Maieſte, as he hard oftymes
P. 164. be report, that he retournit with gret contentement in his mynd for that part, bot very forowfull for the company that he fand in greteſt fauour and credit about his Maieſte; vnloked for, be raiſoun of a wretting that his Maieſte had ſend vnto the Quen his meſtres, promyſing not to bring in again to the court the ſaid Erle of Arran without hir aduylſe and conſent. For my part, I never ſaw ſic apperance of a prosperous eſtait, for his Maieſteis honour, ſurete, loue and obedience of his awen ſubiectis, increaſe of the number of his frendis in England, to the aduancement of his title, nether befor that tym nor ſen fyn, gif the ſaid Arran had not bene brocht again to the court; quhilk I left not on declaired to his Maieſte dyuers times, not without ſome parell.

Indeid his Maieſteis intention was, not that he fuld remain at court, bot only to com and kiſs his hand, and to retourn bak again to his houſe. He again being anes enterit, wan ſome of the lordis, whais particulaires he promyſed to ſet fordwart, ſa that they wald concur with him, and ſchaw his Maieſte how neceſſaire his preſens and abyding about him wald be; and how that my gentill proceeding wald wrak the K. and them all. Handling the matter ſa, that he remanit at court, and myndit to mak him ſelf and his aſſiſters riche, be the wrak and

spoilge of vthers, wha had tane his Maieſte at the Raid of Ruthven, and then he and they to gyd all at ther plesour. Sa many of them as ſchot at particulier markis, ran a ſtrait courſe with him, becauſe they thocht to mend them ſelues be his credit, and fearit to tyn his Maieſteis fauour, incaice that Arran wer not ther frend. And ſome of them did what they culd to perſuad me to do the lyk, alleging that vtherwayes I wald be ſchut out. Quhilk cam till paſs ſchortly efter, becauſe I wald not geld, nor concure to caſt all lowſe, to the parell of his Maieſteis eſtait and reputation; remembring what was intendit, promyſed and proclamed, at his Maieſteis paſſing to his liberte.

It is certane, that the lordis that maid that enterpryſe had gret occaſion geuen them to be miſcontent, bot na ſufficient cauſe to enuyroun or compell ther ſouerein prince, to remoue fra him them that he lyked ſa weall of. Quhilk rebellious proceding compellit them alſo, for ther ſurete, to retean and withhald ther King as captyue. His Maieſte again being aduertit and admoniſſit, that the dangerous and ſuſpicious form of doing of the Duc of Lenox and Erle of Arran was able to breid diſordour, tok ouer litle cair to preven the apperant inconveniencis, and ouer litle deligence to get ſure intelligence and information therof, quhilk brocht him to that ſtrait of taking and keping. For it had bene leſs panes to haue tane gud tent in dew tyme, how his contre was gouernit, then to put ordour or remedy therto efterwart. For it is na litle errour, to rendre the maiſt part of the nobilite and ſubiectis malcontentis, nor na gret wiſdome, efter that his Maieſte was in ther handis, to ſlip fra them without ther conſentis. The enterpryſers, aſſiſters and allowers of the dede, being ſa gret a number as culd not be ouertane bot be patience, nor puniſſit bot be ſubuerſion of the eſtait,

P. 165. and parelling of the prince his awen perfone. Yet it pleased God to gyd his Maieſte vnto his libertie, albeit with ſome parell; with gret honour at the firſt, and with the vniuerſall contentement of all his ſubieſtis, ſa ſchone as they vnderſtod his honeſt meanyng and gratioux deliberation, aſweill be promyſe as be proclamation, as is alre dy ſpecified.

I forget not at all occaſions, for my part, to remember his Maieſte, and refuſed the office of ſecretary, becauſe it was ſaid that na man ſuld want his office, benifice, landis, nor eſchait. And as is els mentionit, I opponit my ſelf againſt the Erle of Arran in plane conſaill, becauſe he had fourmed a proclamation againſt the lordis of the Raid of Ruthven, contraire to his Maieſteis formair new maid proclamation of grace and obliuion of all byganes. Therefore he lap out of the conſaill houſe, in a rage at me; [*alleging the loue that I bure to the lordis wald wrak the K. and them all. I ſaid, the loue that he bure to ther landis wald do it*] and for diſpyt he maid a row of the names of ſa many as ſuld abyd and be vpon the preuy conſaill, and pat out my name. Lykwais he named ſa many of his dependers as ſuld ſerue in euery office, quhilk his Maieſte was myndit not to do without my aduylſe. This he cauſed his Maieſte ſubſcryue, aſſiſted be thre of the foirſaid lordis that tok plane part with him; ſa I was ſchot to the dur, and had na mair place to do gud. His Maieſte gratiouſly excuſed the matter, and ſaid that the lordis had na will of twa brether, baith [*bot mean gentlemen*] to be vpon the conſaill; bot when he ſuld get a wyf, I ſuld be hir confellour, and cheif about hir. Sa that gene they wer glaid to be quyt of my comber, I was as glaid to be fre fra ther miſfreull, not to be a partener with them, to the parelling of ther prince and wrak of his contre.

Yet his Maieſte aſſured me, that he ſuld paſs to Edenbrough, and convene ſic noblemen, barrons and vthers as I had named vnto his Maieſte, to the ſatteling of his eſtait and agreeing with his nobilite, conform to my wreting abovementioned. And that in the mean tym he tald me, that the Erle of Arran thocht meit to ſend in England the biſchop of St Androwes, alleging that he was paſſing to the well of the Spa, for recouery of his health; wha paſſing throw England, ſuld haue commiſſion to deall with the Quen of England in his hynes affaires; and incaice he fand her willing to entre frendly and frely with his Maieſte, he ſuld ſchaw hir that his Maieſte wald ſend me ther, to ſatiffie hir mair ſufficiently in ſic thingis as ſche wald requyre; and to that effect the ſaid biſchop ſuld ſend bak word be a gentilman, Capten Robert Meluill, wha paſt ther expreſſely for to be ſend bak with the ſaid anſwer. I was commandit to wret in the biſchops fauour; bot he was ouer weall knawen in England. For Meſter Bowes, wha remanit lang in this contre, had informed them ſufficiently of the ſaid biſchopis qualites; wha was diſdanit in England, and diſhonored his contre be borrowing of gold and pretioux fourringis fra the biſchop of Londoun and dyuers vthers, quhilk was never reſtored nor payed again.

His Maieſte nevertheles wald haue me to grant to gang in England, and to be in a redines; and willit me to mak my awen inſtructions, alleging that I knew what was meateſt for him to requyre at that tym.

P. 166. I wald not tak vpon me to mak my awen inſtructions; bot I ſaid that I ſuld pen the ſpeeches that I ſuld hald unto hir Maieſte, incaice that I paſt ther; quhilk kynd of langage, in my oppinion, wald be meteſt for the tym to be vſed, and haldin be any man that ſuld be ſent to that

Quen. Quhilk his Maieſte, eſter that he had ſean it, thocht very meit, and conform to his awen meanyng.

HARRANGUE TO BE MAID VNTO THE QUEN OF ENGLAND.

“Madame, albeit that your Maieſte be elis ſufficiently certified of the King my ſoueranis conformable mynd to ſatiſſie your hyenes, aſweill be Sir Frances Walfingame your ſecretary, as be the biſchop of Sant-androwes his ambaffadour, granting to the ane his haill deſyres be mouth, and declaired be the other how ſtraitly he has obſerued and parfourmed the ſame in effect; mair to maife and content your motherly mynd, in ſchawing the takenes of a thankfull and obedient ſonne, then for any gret weall he ſeis ye ſeak therby to your ſelf. Sa that it is his Maieſteis intention yet ſtill, cheifly ſen he hes tane the ſteir and rudder in his awen hand, to ſchaw you ay the langer the mair, the parfyt fruitis of his hartly affection.

“For now hauyng atteanit vnto ſome yeares of knowlege and dear bocht experience, (by that quhilk has bene oft beaten in his eares,) he is not ygnorant how that your hynes fauour and aſſiſtance mon be mair happy and helply for his aduancement, then can be any aid he may obtean at all the other princes of Europe. Your Maieſte being to him ſa dear a mother, and ſa neir a nybour; baith your ſubiectis ſeamyng to be bot a people; ſpecially ſen your prudent gouvernement began, quhilk has not only bene vtterit towardis your awen, bot alſo has extendit vnto the vtilite of vther gret kyngdomes; cheifly ouerſchadowing this haill yland, to your hynes euerlaſting honour.

“For never in na princes dayes, hes bene sean sic rest, riches, and felicitie in England; and mycht lykwais haue bene in Scotland, gif the particularites of some of the subiectis had sufferit them till ensue your faige, charitable, and loving admonitions, as they ar presently sufficient motions to moue his Maiestie, whom the matter maist tuiched, to direct me towardis your hynes, efter rype deliberation, and vpon the sure grond of the gud information of sic as ar best inclynit, and haue maist experience, to seek the assistance quhilk he has sa oft sean sent vnto him, help and healthsome anuyse, wher he has sa oft found it, and salutary plaisters to be laid vnto the sores that yet daily breidis and aryfes in his realm, as restis of the canker and disfordour engendred during his minorite.

“Seing then the thing that he craues, is your accustomed kyndnes and confaill, quhilk because the strenth of your constancy will compell yow to continow towardis him, he is the mair hamely to sut the same, as maist seamly for his fibnes, aige and estait sa to do; persuading himself that sic frendly offices mycht be vsed betwen yow, as mycht tend to baith your contentementis, and weall of your kingdomes; quhilk for laik of sure intelligence of others inward myndis, be the secret and mutuell conference of deuotions and discret instrumentis, mycht vtherwayes turn to the contraire.

P. 167. “The King my maister knawes that amytie cannot stand vpon a fyd, bot mon be mutuell; and grantis that he has now greter neid of your help then ye of his in many thingis. Bot he thinkis him self as able, and is as willing to deserue fauour at your hand, as any that can contend with him for the same, or wald presume to found the faschious bell of succeffion in your eares. For his part, he requyres na instant

declaration therof, bot will continually craue, be his behauour all sic preferment, as ane humble sone aucht to feak at a louing and hartly mother. Because he esteemes that a word of your Maiesteis mouth, at a convenient tym, fall sufficiently serue histurn; being yet yong anough till abyd any benefit it my pleise your Maieste prouyd for him; acknowleging the prorogation of your yeares maist proffitable to supplie his youth, confidering the neceffite he has now of your assistance, in the rewling of this his present and estait, he esteames that he wald haue double ado with your help, gif ouer early he had any greater handling.

“Therefore, Madame, he desyres yet bot hunting and pasetym, vntill he be of greter rypenes and maturitie; wiffing in the mean tym vnto your Maiesteane lang lyf, a prosperous regne, and as gud successe in your proceedinges heirafter, as ye haue had hitherto; that hauing sa happily and sa honorably rewled in a maner baith the realmes, thir many yeares byegane, ye may be as able to leaue them sa junit together in a cordiall and staible monarchie, as that the bliffit and parfyt end of your prudent proget may confirm and crown the worthynes of your reputation, in finiffing the wark quhilk many had sa oft in vain enterprysed; as the only prince that euer obteanit the haill handling and hartis of all Britane without bluid.

“The first empyre therof began and appropriate in your personne, sa plaifantly and peceably rewled in your tym, and sa justly and rycheously distribut and left efter yow, not only to the worthyest, as did Allexander, bot also to the nereft of your frendis and kinsfolkis, as did Ceasar, to avoid bludshedding then as of before; lyk a kyndly mother to the King, the contre and commownweall, to the gret plea-

four of God, to the perpetuall prayse of your memory, and to the vni-
versell weill and felicitie of this haill ylland."

Gif the Quen of England culd haue credit his Maiesteis toward and
modest inclination, as it was and is indede, sche mycht haue had ane
affured frendship and concurrence of him for hir tym. Certainly his
Maieste was euer myndit to haue kepit this kynd of frendly and discret
correspondence with hir; for he was informed, how litle speid the Quen
his mother cam, for sutting continowally to be declaired second persone
of England; as may be seane in that quhilk I haue wreten of before,
tuiching hir proceedingis with the Quen of England, wha will never
grant to declare a second persone bot be force and compulsion, quhilk
has not lyen in the power of Scotland to do, during the riche and paif-
able regne of this Quen. Yet faire and discret langage and behauour,
gaif plaice and acces to his Maiesteis ambassadouris, to pass to and fra,
to won frendis and get intelligence. [*This my opinion was wreten*

P. 168. *and fet down yeares before hir Maiesteis discease.*]

Now the Erle of Arran, persauyng that be na persuation he culd get
his Maieste staid on passingtill Edenbrough, ther to convene sic noble-
men, barrons, bourgeses and ministers, meatest to satle his troublete ef-
fait, be taking vp again and folowing fourth his formair gratioux in-
tention and promyse, baith be proclamation and speaches vnto dyuers
noblemen, barrons, and ministers;—the said erle seing that he mycht
not directly stay that gud purpos, sa contraire to his pretences, he first
maid his moyen to be maid chanceler, and then capten of the castell of
Edenbrough; that be his gret offices, attour his credit with his Maieste,
he mycht terrifie all sic as durst opon them selues to his courses or pro-
positions. Then he vsed his craft, to peruert and draw the effect of the

convention clean contrairy to his hynes intent; for he delt and fpak with euery lord and barron apart at ther commyng; and fchew them how gratioufly his Maieſte was myndit, towardis ſic as had tane him at the Raid of Ruthven, as to grant euery ane of them particulair remiſſions; ſome of them to be a whyll abſent out of the contre, and others to remain at hame in ther awen houſes, abſent from court; alleging that wha euer wald ſay that this form of puniſſement was not gret clemency, they wald tyn his Maieſteis fauour, as men that had na reſpect to his honnour and furetie; being ane odious crym to haue layed handis forceably vpon ther natywe prince.

This matter being ſa ſet out and delated be him that apperit to knaw maiſt of his Maieſteis mynd, and had the greteſt offices in his hand, it was found and voted be them all to be gret clemency vſed be his Maieſte, towardis them that had committed ſa odious a crym. His Maieſte was very glaid to heir them all conclud in ane oppinion, not knawing nor apprehending how they wer all perſuadit and tunit, as preoccupied be the Erle of Arran; part of them for fear, part for ygnorance, and others for flattery, till obtean fauour of him whom they eſteamed to gyd baith King and contre. Few or nane of them for the tym did confidder the apperant danger of a plane diſpaire, be them that wer ordonit to tak remiſſions, in ſtead of that quhilk was of before allowed for gud ſeruice, in reſpect of ther gret number; quhilk culd not haue bene otherwyſe ouertane nor puniſſit, without the hazart of his hynes awen princely eſtait and credit, quhilk all diſcret and worthy princes are laith to bring in doubt. This allowance of gud ſeruice has bene oft practyſed in France during the tym of ther ciuill waires, when ther lait princes wer bot yet yong, and wher the malcontentis,

or pretenders to reform the estait, wer sa many and mychty as to mak a party vnto ther king.

Because I was not yet com to the first day of the said convention, his Maieste tald me, that same nycht at my comyng, what was proceedit and voted at ther first meting, quhilk he beleued wald be to my gret contentement; willing me the nyxt day to be present. Bot I said, that I was fory from my hart for it that was ther concludit, sen it was in effect clean contraire to his intention, wher he thocht to haue sattelit his estait, to se it casten louse; and that the dyce was casten, and the discention sa increffit, to the kendling vp of new dispayred enterpryses, that the chance wald bear away the maistry and victory. For they that wer compellit to tak remissions, wald think it to be ther dit-tay; and that ther formair securites being alterit, ther was na mair plaice left for any fort of agreement.

P. 169. His Maieste tok this vnfaury sayinge of myn, sa contrair to the opinions of many, in ane euell part, and askit at me, gene I thocht not the Raid of Ruthven tresoun. I answerit, that I thocht it sa indede; [*ay vntill*] bot sen his Maieste, wyfely and circumspectly, had not only him self and his haill counsaill allowed it for gud seruice, bot also had wreten it to the Quen of England, and had send his commissiouners to the generall assemble, halden for the tym in Edenbrough, willing the haill ministres, at ther retourning to ther ordinary paroishes, to cause the principall gentilmen of ilk schyre to subscriue a signatour, or the copy, wherin the Raid of Ruthven was allowed for gud seruice, and to be redy to defend the same.

I declaired also vnto his Maieste, how that ther was a commoun clause contenit in all remissions, to wit, "Except the laying handis vpon the

Kingis persone;" then what vnfeurete they mycht haue be ther remissions, his Maieſte culd eaſely juge. His Maieſte anſwerit again, that fendle or never has any remiſſion bene ſean broken; and maruelit, what moued me to ſpeak and think vtherwayes then the reſt of the conſaill. I ſaid, gene I had alwayes ſpoken lyk the reſt, I had not bene put anes aff the conſaill be the Erle of Arran; whais qualites I had of before deſcryued vnto his Maieſte, and what inconvenientis he was able to bring in with him, at his new entring again in court; and requested his Maieſte, for his awen weall, to ſend him hame for a whyll to his awen houſe. For be his dealing, as I was informed, the concluſion of the convention was ſa drawen, quhilk mycht ſchortly bring on new diſpaired enterpryſes. His Maieſte ſaid, that I was in the wrang to the Erle of Arran, and that ther wald neuer be any ma enterpryſes. I affirmed that ther wald be continowally, ay and whill the lordis that wer put in diſpaire, mycht mend them ſelues, or find them ſelues in a bettir ſecurete. And ſaid mair ouer vnto his Maieſte, that the Erle of Arran wald yet again put his perſone and crown in parell. Sa that his Maieſte left me in ane anger; and yet turnit about and ſperit, "wha ſall then remain about me, gif I put away the Erle of Arran?" I ſaid, the Erles of Marche, Argyll, Eglington, Montroiſe, Marchall, Rothes, Huntly, and Crafford, with ſome miniſters and barrons that wer knawen not to be factious.

Bot ſa many of the noblemen and of ther frendis, as wer yet remaining within the contre, eſter that they had hard of thir remiſſions, they layd ther headis together, and wan dyuers lordis that wer about his Maieſte to mak a new enterpryſe, and wer myndit to fley the Erle of Arran, the crownell Stuart, and ſome vthers that wer about his Maieſte,

ther gretest ennemys, albeit it wer in his Maiesteis prefens; and that way to becom maisters again of the court. Wherof I not only was aduertist, be some that I had schawen plesour vnto; bot also they aduyfed me to absent my self from court, for thre or four dayes, to eschew the first fury of the alteration; for the Erle of Arrans hattrent maid me to be weill lyked of be dyuers honest men. I again, to saif his Maieste from parell and dishonour, thocht it my dewty till aduertis him; willing him yet to send hame the said erle. I can not tell what moued the Erle of Arran, bot he desyred me to supper with him that same nycht, quhilk I refused. The nyxt day again, he tok me be the hand before his Maieste, saying that I fuld dyn with him and schew me a frendly contenance in his Maiesteis prefens; for his Maieste had forbiddin him till offend me in any fort, as he wald retean his fauour. Gif he had gottin any word of my contrary oppinion to his, I can not tell, or that I had desyred him to be sent hame; bot ther was some apperance, be his behauour and passionat speaches vntome schone efter, that I had schawen my oppinion vnto his Maieste; as men ma juge, for leading me be the hand to dyn with him in his Maiesteis prefens, quhilk I culd not refuse to do.

P. 170. Bot before we sat down to dinner, he askit at me how all wald be. I again thocht meit to tell him all that I had sayd vnto his Maieste. "Then," said he, "ye wald place about him the Erle of Marche, wha is a fule, gydit be the lard of Cambo and Robert Seuez." I said, he behoued to be ane with the rest of the noblemen alredy named. He said, it fuld pass my power, or any mans, to cause him leaue his Maieste, sa lang as he was in sic danger. I answerit, that the K. was in danger for na vther cause, bot because he was besyd him. I parfauit that he

had a gret misflyking of me in his hart, quhilk he bursted fourth efterwart, boisting to put me to the get, gif I fished any mair in his waters. I answerit, that it wald pas his power, gif I plesit to tary; for I wald get ma honnest men to tak my part, than he wald get throtcutters to assist him. Sa schone as his Maieste hard of this langage, he send his oncle the lard of Caprintown, to reprove him schairply; wherupon he retired him to the castell of Edenbrough, wherof he wes laitly maid capten; bot cam not neir his Maieste, vntill I behoued to pass hame and gaif him place. Quhilk I thocht his Maieste was content that I fuld do, to please him; for his wyf cam daily to his Maieste, and said that her husband had tane displeour, thinking that his Maieste tok my part against him. When I tok my leaue, his Maieste said that he douted not bot I wald com again when I was send for; quhilk I tok for asmekle as not till com again till I was sent for; not being myndit to haue taried any langer, efter that the foirsaid convention was endit.

Now the Erle of Arran tryumphed, being Chanceler, and capten of the castellis of Edenbrough and Stirling. He maid the haill subiectis to trimble vnder him, and euery man dependit vpon him; daily inventing and feaking out of new faltis against dyuers, for ther escheitis, landis, benefices, or to get budis; vexing the haill wreters and lawers to mak fur his giftis and conkiffis. And samany of the nobilite as wer in fear of ther estaitis fled, and vthers wer baniffit. He schot directly at the lyf and landis of the Erle of Gowry; for the oracles of the hyland had schawen unto his wyf that Gowry wald wrak, as sche allegit to some of her famyliers. Bot sche helpit fordwart that prophesie the best sche culd; for Gowry had bene his first maister, and dispyted

his insolent pryde, oppression and misbehaviour, plainly in confaill, quhilk few vthers durst do. Therefore he hatted his persone, and louit his landis, quhilkis he obtenit at lenth. For Gowry had tane purpos, being compellit, to pass out of the contre with his Maiesteis fauour and liscence; bot as he was making his preparations ouer langsomly and slawly in Dundee, (as he was ouer slaw of nature,) wher his schip was to refaue him, he was aduertist be some factioners, that the Erles of Angus, Mar and maister of Glames, had ane enterpryse to com out of Yreland hame, and tak the town and castell of Stirling; having intelligence with dyvers noblemen, and vthers ther frendis that war in the contre malcontentis; sa that they wer in hope to mak a party sufficient against the Erle of Arran. Quhilk moued the Erle of Gowry to stay, with intention to tak part with them, for the gret disdaine and dyspyt that he had against the Erle of Arran.

Then ther was ane vniuersell discontentement in the contre for the tym, and ane gret bruit of an alteration. Wherupon the crownell Stuart wret a lettre vnto me, alleging be his Maiesteis commandement, other to repair to court with deligence, or elis to send my oppinion in wret vnto his Maieste, what was lyk to fall out concernyng the gret rumour and bruitis of ane apperant alteration. At quhilk tym I was feak of a fever tercian or access, that maid me vnable for trauell; the
P. 171. disease apperantly proceding of displeasour. Therefore I send my answer in wret, to schaw his Maieste, that ther was indede ane vniversell discontentement, with a gret bruit, not without apperance of a foudaine changement, for the misbehaviour of sic as wer in court, and gret strait and dyspared estait of them that wer put at, being men of qualite actyue and experimented, and that in greter number then mycht

be ouertane; as I had schawen his Maieſte of before, without reſpect of feid or fauour, bot ſemply for his hynes ſeruice; preing his Maieſte yet again, to ſet fordwart his formair acceptable pretence, intendit at his firſt paſſing to Santandrowes, ſeing na vther affured courſe to ſattle his troubled eſtate. This kynd of langage was the better lyked of for the tym, becauſe of ſa many aduertifmentis that cam daly to his Maieſteis eares.

Thir bruitis and aduertifementis maid his Maieſte to be vpon his gardis, and to uſe moyen to get intelligence. Firſt ſome ſuſpition was tane vpon the lingering of the Erle of Gowry in Dundee. Alſo his Maieſte had ſome aduertifment, that he was not myndit to tak ſchip, bot to ſtay vpon the incommynge of the baniſſit lordis, as ſaid is. His Maieſte alſo dreamed a dream, that he ſaw the Erle of Gowry tane, and brocht in priſoner before him be the crownell Stuart, ſa that his eſtate wes ſattelit he thocht therby. Quhilk wes trew in dede for that tym; becauſe the lordis that had tane Stirling, ſa ſchone as they vnderſtode of the taking of the Erle of Gowry, fled incontinent fourth of Stirling, and again fourth of the contre; beleuyng that the ſaid erle had bene tane willingly, ſupponyng his affection to be ſa gret vnto his Maieſte, as a neir kinfman com of the houſe of Angus, his mother being a naturall dochter of the ſaid houſe; as alſo that he was neuer vpon the firſt deuſe of any enterpryſe, bot drawen therupon efterwart be the craftynes of vthers. Therefore his Maieſte had compaſſion vpon him and was not myndit to tak his lyf. Bot the Erle of Arran was myndit to tak his landis, quhilkis he deuýdit efterwart with ſome others, to get ther votis and conſentis that he mycht be wrackit. At his death, being vpon the ſcaffald, he ſchew himſelf a deuot chriſtien,

and a resolut Romane, mekle regretted with many that wer present, and hard his graue harangue, and saw his constant end.

Efter his death, ther was quyetnes for a whyll, without apperance of lang continowance. During this litle whyll of faire wether, ther was a parlement halden, to forsalt the baniffit lordis, at the instant desyre of sic as hoped to be the better be other mens wrak. Among others I was wreten for, and gratiouly resaut be his Maieste; wha remembrit vpon some of my speaches, and tok me allane vnto his cabinet, and inquyrit how I thocht then of all his proceedingis. I sayed, that he had gret cause to thank God, and na gud gyding; and that ther wald be yet ma enterpryses, and that they wha tok Stirling, and wer reterit again, wald never cese to mak enterpryse vpon enterpryse, ay vntill they mycht se themselues in a better securete. His Maieste said, that they had won sa litle be ther last incommyng, that they wald never do the lyk folly again. I answerit, that wer not the taking of the Erle of Gowry, who they beleuit was tane be his awen devyce, to bewray ther enterpryse, they had obtenit ther intent; for euen some that wer vpon his Maiesteis awen fyd, wald haue junit with them, to put the Erle of Arran out; whom they affistid for aw, and not for loue, and wer beginning to enuy and hate his insolency, and culd not se a sure outgait how to stand be him, and had maid some secret promyses to them be sic as past betwen. Bot seing the Erle of Gowry in handis, and the said lordis therby discoragit to fle away, samany as had maid the saidis promyses, tok vp a new deliberation, and schew themselues frackest in ther contraire.

P. 172. The Lord Burly, cheif reuler in England at this tym, caused send in heir ane Mester Daufoun agent, to se what new busynes he culd

brew ; wha was efterwart maid fecretare. For efter the difcefe of Walfingame, fecretary Cicill being aduancit to be Lord Burly, and gret treforer of England, twa fecretaries wer chofen ; ane callit Mefter Smyth, and this Dauifoun, whais predeceffour was a Scotifman ; wherby he was thocht to be mair able to conkis credit, and had bene heir in Scotland of before, and was at my houfe in company with Sir Hary Killigrew, my auld frend, when he was refident in Scotland. At quhilk tym, he maid a fecret confeffion to me, that he was com of Scotifmen and was a Scotifman in his hart, and a fauorer of the Kingis richt and title to the crown of England ; and willit me to kep all fecret from Mefter Killigrew, promyfen gif he culd find the meanis to be employed heir, that he fuld do gud offices.

His Maiefte was for the tym at Facland, and wret for me to be directed to ryd and meit the faid Dauifoun ; whom I was commandit convoy to Couper, ther to remain vntill his Maiefte had leafer to geue him audience ; and efterwart convoyed him to my awen houfe, and from that to Facland, wher his Maiefte fand bot litle effec in his commiffion. Bot becaufe Mefter Walfingame had refused, at his being heir, to fpeak with the Erle of Arran, albeit the faid erle offred be me to content the faid Walfingame in all his defyres, fa that he wald deall and conferre with him, quhilk Walfingame ftill refused. Bot Mefter Dauifoun was directed, at this tym, to deall with the Erle of Arran, to fe what vantage mycht he had at his hand ; for my L. Burly was not content that Walfingame was fa precife. Therfore Dauifoun enterit hamely with him and was maid his goffup, and hard his frank offers and lyked weill of them. For efter that the lordis wer fled in England and forfalted, the confaill of England thocht they had some

ground wherby to build vp a new stark faction, to trouble the K. and his estait. And wheras the said Dauifoun had promysed of before to schaw himself a kindly Scotisman, I parfauit him clean alterit, and a very practyser against the quyetnes of this estait; quhilk I schew vnto his Maieste.

Efter his retournyng, England apperit not to tak sic a fkar at the Erle of Arran as they had done; for ther was a meting drawen on at the borders, betwen the Erle of Hunfdane and the Erle of Arran; wha had lang and preuy conference togihter, to kepe a gret frendschip betwen the twa princes and contrees, with a secret complot, that the Erle of Arran fuld kepe the King on married for thre yeares. In sa doing, ther was a yong maid of the bluid in England that wald be about that tym redy for mariage, with the quhilk the Quen wald declare his Maieste second persone, &c.

This was a disceatfull trafic, and kepit secret fra euery body, to hinder the K. to deall for any other proffitable and honnorable matche. The Erle of Arran thinking him self fatelit, being in frendschip with the Quen of England as he supponit, moued his Maieste to send ther the Maister of Gray; wha was entrit in gret fauour and familierite with his Maieste, be some secret dealing and intelligence he had maid with the Quen his Maiesteis mother in England, be the meanis of some of hir frendis in France, he being ther; and was bot laitly com hame, and brocht with him some wretinis directed from hir Maieste to the King hir sonne; and convoyed the answers bak again, be a moyen that he had in England with some that fauorit hir Maieste; and was a gret
P. 173. dealer also betwen hir Maieste and some catholikis in England. For he was a propre gentilman, of a trim sprit and fair speach, and sa

weill lyked of be his Maieſte, that Arran thocht meit till abſent him from court be this ambaffade; neuertheles employed him alſo in his courſe begon betwen him and the Erle of Hunſdane, as ſaid is. And yet when he was at the court of England, ſa weill eſteamed and trait-ed, as was reported be ſic as wer ſent bak, it wes allegit be ſome of the Maifter of Gray his frendis, that the Erle of Arran began till enuy him, and mak miſreport of him vnto his Maieſte, as thoch he had diſcouerit vnto the Quen of England, a gud part of the Quen of Scotlandis purpoſes and proceedingis.

Alwayes, the ſaid Maifter retournit again weall rewardit, and commendit for his behauour, qualites and diſcretion vnto the Kingis Maieſte, to the gret increaſe of his credit with the King. Not lang efter his hamecommynge, he wes infourmed what miſreport had bene maid of him in his abſence; quhilk he recompensit the beſt he culd with court charite, at ſic convenient tymes, that he pat Arran be litle and litle out of conceat.

The Maifter of Gray alſo foirwarnit his Maieſte of a notable perſonage that was vpon the way, ſent vnto his Maieſte be the Quen of England, to honour him and bear him company, and to enterteny a ſtraiter frendſchip betwen that Quen and him, nor had bene maid at any tym before; and that the ſaid ambaffadour, callit Meſter Wotton, wald not faſche his Maieſte with negocis nor contre affaires, bot with honeſt paſtym, be hunting, halking, and horſfryding; and with frendly and mirry diſcourſes, as ane com laitly out of Italy and Spain, expert in langages and cuſtomes of contrees, and a gret louer of his Maieſteis richt and tytyle to the crown of England. Sa that his Maieſte was rauiffit to loue him before his commynge, and cauſed wret for me to com with diligence, to enterteny the ſaid ambaffadour.

At my commyng to court, I was the better tane with, that Arran was a litle disgracit. The Maister of Gray was then my gret frend; for his Maieſte had tald him, how that I had euer refiſted the Erle of Arrans furious proceedingis. His Maieſte deſyred me, as I wald do him acceptable ſeruice, to bear gud company vnto the ſaid ambaffadour; declaring vnto me all his properties and gud qualites abone ſpecified, willing me alſo to bancket him at my houſe. Bot efter I had hanted certane dayes with him, I remembrit that I had eyther ſean him or his brother of before in France, with his oncle doctour Witton, wha was ther ambaffadour reſident for Quen Mary of England, the tym that ſche was married with King Philipe of Spane. During quhilk tym, ther wer gret gelouſies and ſuſpitions betweñ France and England; zit ther was het warres betwen the Kingis of France and Spain; bot the paice continowed ſtill with the Quen of England, wha was laitly married be the King of Spain. Sche ſeamed to kepe ſtill gud paice with France; in the mean tym ſend ouer till Flanders baith men and money, to the help of the K. hir huſband. The auld Conſtable of France for the tym, wha had the haille handling of the contre affaires vnder K. Henry the ſecond, reprochit the Engliſh ambaffadour, for that the Quen his meſtres was doing what ſche culd to brek the paice. The ambaffa-

P. 174. dour excuſed his meſtres, alleging that gif any of her contre men ſeruit in the warres vnder the K. of Spane, that they wald be found bot common wageours, redy to ſerue any man for money; and denyed that ſche knew of ther paſſing in Flanders, or that ſche debourſit any ſiluer for the warres. Albeit, ther was cauſe and matter anough miniſtred vnto hir, be reſauing and retenyng in France all hir rebelles and fugitiues; geving them penſions and entertenement, and ſtering them vp

with enterpryses against hir lyf and estat. This the Constable denyed platly; only, he said, of a generall gud will that was born to all English men in tym of paice, they wer sufferit to lywe in the contre quhilk bure the name of France, wher ther shuld be fredome and franchise till euery christien.

The ambassadour being wyse and subtile, parsaunyng this answer to be bot a meating till his, and that wairres culd not fail to folow vpon this kind of supitious procedingis, he intendit be some subtilite to circonvene the Constable, and to that effec had send in England for his brother sone, yet yong of xxj yeares, asweill to employ him as to cause him se and learn the Ytalien and Frenche langage. This yong man being arryued in France, with ane Yreland boy to be his interpreter, wha culd speak French, baith in semple array, to be the les suspected to haue any practyse or policy in ther myndis, bot lyk a landuart yong man, addreffit him to some of the K. of France courtours, that he mycht haue audience of his Maieste in a quyet maner, as hauyng a matter of gret importance till propon. The K. again, dyuers tymes directed him to deall first with the Constable. At last when he cam to the Constable, he desyred also at him that he mycht first declare vnto the K. his errand, quhilk was of a gret consequence. Howbeit he knew that the K. spak with na man in sic mattres, vntill the Constable had taisted him first, and then tald his oppinion vnto the K., and how till mak answer. At length he said, he wald declare the matter vnto the Constable, vnder promyse of gret secrecie, causing the Constable be this nycenes to suspect some practyse; and when he gaif him audience he desyred me to be present besyd him.

At ther meting quyetly in the Constables cabinet, his Yreland interpreter was put fourth, against his will as apperit; bot he was sa instruct-

ed be the ambaffadour his oncle, to wfe fic landward and rud faffions; yet again, or he began to propon his errand, he defyred fecrefie. The Conftable being ane auld wyfe experimented confellour, pat him a litle afyd and roundit in my ear, to wit gene I had fean this yong man at any tym of before. I anfwerit that I had fean him the day before, at lang conference with ane Mefter Sommer, fecretary to the Englis ambaffadour. Then the Conftable thocht that he fuld handle the matter weall anough; for he geffit that all this nycenes proceadit from the ambaffadour, to trap him; and calling the yong man, again defyred him to fchaw what he had to fay. Mefter Wotton began to declare the gret mifcontentement that was in England, not only for bringing in the prowde Spanyartis to reull ouer them, bot alfo for the alteration of religion maid be Quen Mary; moving many to rebell, and others to remoue aff the contre; wha neuertheles wer all weall refauit and traited be the Kingis Maieftie of France, wherby he had won the hartis of the thrid part of England fa deuotly towardis him, that they wald glaidly put the crown of England on his head, getting ouerficht in religion, to be quyt of the Spanniartis tirranny and terrible inquisition, quhilk was feared fuld be

P. 175. alfo eftabliffit in England. And for the firft proif of ther gud will and thankfulnes, a nomber of lordis and knychtis, wha durft not wret, had fend him fecretly with ane ouerture and fure outgait, to put the ftrang town of Cales in his handis, with the haill erldome of Oye. At this the Conftable maid a ftart, and faid, "Knawe ye not, my frend, that ther is a fworn paice betwen your Quen and the King my maifter?" The other replyes again, how that the Quen of England aydit fecretly with filuer and men the King of Spain hir husband, in his warres of Flanders againft France. Quhilk the Conftable allegit that fche denyed be

hir ambaffadour; bot willit him to tell out the reft of his commiffion. Then faid he, "My L., the meanis how ye may get Cales, is this. Firft, the maift part of the town ar of the reformed religion and malcontentis, and hes refused to refaue a garniffoun of Spanyartis. All thir ar frendis to them that fend me, and has intelligence with them. Then only the townfchip kepes ther toun, making watche and ward without wageours, onskilfull to handle ther armes. Therefore the K. fall caufe Mons^r de Senarpon, his lieutenant in Normandye, to ly in ambufcad at fic a wod, within a myl and ane half to the town, at ane apponted day. Then a fchip, weill fourniffit with armed men, fall ly at a raid or anker half myll from the town. Some of thir, cloithed lyk mari-nelis, fall com a land, and haue fwerdis and piftolles vnder ther clais; and fall await about tua efternun, at quhilk tym the portis of the town ar oppenit to let men in and out. Part of the porters wilbe at ther denner, when ane or tua will com before the leaue till open the gettis. The gettis being ceafet, let ane of the company fchut aff a lang piftolle, that the fchip may heir and fshot a canon, till caufe Mons^r de Senarpon with his company com fordwart at the flycht fpeid; and they that ar within the fchip, to vfe the lyk deligence to com fordwart. In the mean tym, ther falbe a mutenirie raifed within the toun be our frendis and parteners, fa that the town falbe obtenit without ftraik." Efter that the Conftable had hard all this lang difcours, he faid that it was very lykly, and douted not bot it mycht be eafely done. Bot in refpect of the fworn paice, the K. his maifter wald not, nor fuld never haue his counfell not consent to brek the paice; bot is far obligit to the noblemen that beares him fa gud will. And as for him that has tane fic panes, the K. fuld reward him; willing me to remember to caufe geue

filuer to the yong gentilman. Sa he wan nathing at the Constables handis, and cam never again to feak his reward; bot was efterwart manifestly knawen to be brother sone to doctour Wotton, ambaffadour as said is.

This is he now that was fend in heir, to bear his Maieste company, as ane that will not medle with practyses, bot with pastymes. Bot when I foirwarnit his Maieste to be war of him, and tald how that he, being litle abone twenty year auld, he was employed to begyll the auld wyfe Constable; now he was fyfty yeares, and his Maieste bot twenty, it was to be feared that he ga about to begyll him. Yet his Maieste wald not beleue me, bot thocht gret loue and frendschip to be born to him be the said Mester Wotton, wha becam ane of his Maiesteis maist famylier mignons, and waited on at all feild pastymes, and dispised all busy confellouris and medlers in matters of estait, as he was instructed be sic as said he wald pleise his Maieste best to seam to be sa, and to vse sic langage. Bot he had ma hurtfull fetchis in his head against his Maieste, than any Englis man that cam in heir had at any tym of before, alwayes for the seruice of his princefs and contrey, according as the course of ther affaires and pretences preffit them for the tym.

P. 176. Ye haue hard of before of a meting that was drawen on at the Borders, betwen the Erles of Hunfdain and Arran; wher at ther secret conference, Arran was requyred be the craft of the [Englis confaill] Lord Burley and his faction, to stay the King from any mariage for thre yeares, vpon many faire fengzeit promyses, and also to be declaired second persone; at quhilk tym again, Arran granted all that was defyred, he was sa glad to get the Quen of Englandis frendschip. About this tym, the Quen of England, be hir intelligence from Denmark, was

aduertist of a gret and magnifik ambaffade fend be the King of Denmark in Scotland; thre ambaffadours, with a sexscore of perfones, in twa braue fchippis. Whither fche fufpected, or had hard that it was to draw on a mariage, I can not tell; bot this far I learnit, that hir confaill fearit, that it was at leaft to confirm a greater familiarite and frendfchip between the tua Kingis and ther contrees; quhilk was ane of the caufes that moued them to fend in Scotland this Mefter Wotton, to vfe all his wyles to difturb and hender any greter amytie that mycht fucceed, be the faid commiffion and negotiation, between the tua Kingis and ther contrees. For England lippenit nathing to the Erle of Arrans promyfes; for they efteamed him of a flichteren, inconstant capacite, as is alredy declaired.

Sa fchone as the Dence ambaffadours arryuit be fchip in this contre, his Maiefte ordonit me to enterteny them, and to bear them company; and becaufe they wer thre junit in a commiffion, willit me to chufe any vther twa, that I thocht meteft, to bear them company with me; and I named vnto his Maiefte the lard of Segy ane of the Seffion, and Willyem Schaw mefter of Wark. Ther names wer, Manderupius

Henrych Bello, and doctour Theophilus; the firft twa wer confellours.

First, at Domfermeling they congratulat his Maiefte in the K. ther mafters name, with a lang difcours of the auld amytie, band and mu-tuall frendfchip between the twa kings and ther kingdommes. At laft of all, they requyred the ylles of Orkeney to be reftored again to the crown of Denmark, allegit be them to ly in wedfet, to be redemed again for the fowm of fifty thowfand florins.

Ther commyng and demandis was dyuerfly fkancit vpon; fome fup-

poning warres fuld enfew, onles the faidis ylls wer not renderit; others thocht that ther intentions was, to bring on a mariage with the King of Denmarkis dochter.

Now albeit his Maieſte was determinit to trait them weill and honorably, they wer nevertheles mishandled, ruffeled, triffelit, drifted, and delayed heir the ſpace of monethes, to ther gret charges and miſcontentement. For they lyued vpon ther awen expenſis, and wer not deffrayed be his Maieſte, as all other ambaffadouris of that nation hes bene ſen ſyn.

When they wer apponted to part out of Domfermeling towardis St Androwes, ther to get ther diſpatche, his Maieſte ordonit to tell them that he ſuld fend them horſe out of the court to ryd vpon. The day of ther parting being com, they fend away ther bagage and officers before them, and wer buted them ſelues, tareing lang vpon his Maieſteis horſe; quhilk becauſe they cam not in dew tyme, they tok ther journey fordwart vpon fut.

P. 177. His Maieſte was very miſcontent, when he vnderſtod how they wer handled, and cauſed his horſe to folow faſt efter them and ouertak them. Then at ther being in Santandrowes, dyuers appointed dayes of conſaill and convention wer broken vnto them, quhilkis wer promyſed to be keped for ther diſpaſche, quhilk they ſuttid continowally for to get. Then men wer appointed to ſkorn them at ther logingis, and before ther windowes, when they loked out to the ſtreit; ſa that nathing wes left ondone that mycht annoyne them, or kendle them vp in choler. Only Meſter Wotton the Engliſ ambaffadour veſited them oft, and bur them gud company, and confortd them at all occaſions, ſeamyng to be fory that they wer ſa miſuſed; and offerit to lend them

gold and filuer largely, for the gret frendfchip that he knew to be between the Quen his mestres and the King of Denmark. For he was assured of gud payement, and thocht to conkis credit at ther handis, be his apperant frendly deling. At lenth, vnder gret secret, he said he wald not hyd from them, how that he had hard the K. speak difdanfull langage of ther contre and customes; and also that some of his gentilmen had hard the K. speak euell of ther K., as com of the race of merchandis; and that he and his confaill wer myndit to hald them lang heir, without any dispassche, to fasche and tyre them.

Then again the said ambaffadour, and twa of his gentilmen, infourmed his Maieste of ther hard speaches of the reprochefull dealing of the K. and confaill towardis ther maister, and also of ther rud manners, doildnes and dronkenefs; and wer fortified and assisted be sic as wer about his Maieste, wha held the lyk scornfull langage of the K. of Denmark, his contre and ambaffadours; moving his Maieste to mak the les accompt of them. Wherby they wer sterit vp in sic a rage, as I had na litle a do to perswad them in the contrary, and to stay them from stealing away tua feuerall tymes to ther schippis, to haue returnit to ther King without any farther answer, and to report of the gret lichtly and difdane and injury quhilk they said planly wes done vnto ther K. and contre. For the Erle of Arran was also ther ennemy, because they maid na court vnto him, whom dyuers of ther company had knawen to haue bene laitly in Sweden as a soldiour. Sa that he wes als redy as the rest to mok and skorn them, albeit the ringleaders for the tym wer complotted together with the Englifs ambaffadour against him.

The principall of the thre ambaffadouris was a wyfe, graue and an-

cien confellour. Henrich Bello wes furious in his fpeeches; and the doctour cryed out, "the K. our mefter is injured and wilbe reuengit."

Then I tok Manderupius apart, and requested him to heir me patiently, for he fpak gud Dutche, bot myn wes not fa gud, therefore that he wald tak better tent to my meanyng, nor till any wrang word; and mair cair to caufe his frendly commiffion tak effect, that he mycht retourn hame with the happy fucces therof, then till ftart and fteall away, to be called vnhappy instrumentis of difcord, at the pleasour of a few fcornfull factioners, that had layed ther headis together to caufe them part malcontentis, and to be als euell instrumentis, as they wer myndit at ther incommyng to do gud offices.

P. 178. I tald him, how that the Quenis Maiefte of England was a wyfe, weall inclynit and politik princes, and that ther wer asmany honeft and gud men in England, as in any famekle boundis of the haille world; albeit ther was in it dyuers oppinions and factions, fchutting at findry markis, as they do in all other partis. And becaufe that ther Quen wald never mary, to bear fucceffion of hir awen body, they all tak gret cair to wit wha fall regne ouer them efter hir. "The maift part of the contre lukis that it falbe our K., and wiffes his weallfaire and profperite, as being richtous air to the crown of England be baith his fathers fyd as be his mothers fyd. Bot fa many as haue the fpeciall gyding of the court, fchut at other particulair markis of ther awen, mynding to fet fordwart some of them felues or of ther frendis, to bruik the kingdome; and for that caufe, they mak all the hender they can till our King. Also becaufe of ther on mercifull dealing with the Quen his mother, they fearit some day to be puniffit, when he falbe King of England. For all thir refpectis, they praetyfe to kepe him from ma-

riage, and from all forren frendfchip and alliance. And that this fame ambaffadour of England is a very euell inſtrument; baith him ſelf, his gentilmen, hunting daily with his Maieſte, makis the worſt reportis they can."

The ambaffadour of Denmark anſwerit to that, marveling that Meſter Wotton ſuld mak ſic report of them, offring them ſa gret frendfchip, and geving them dayly intelligence how they wer bot ſcornit and mockit, baith be the K. and his conſaill, to his gret regret; and offres to len them ſiluer, with all other plefour that lyes in his power. I ſaid, he knew weall anough that he wald get gud payement and gret thankis; for he eſteamed the King of Denmark a worthy prince, and his ambaffadours worthy to be honnored. Bot the gyders of the court of England deſyres not that our King ſuld think or eſteam ſa of them; wiſſing him to haue bot few frendis and many ennemys. Then I aſſured him, that the Kingis Maieſte and haill ſubiectis, (except ſome that wer corrupted be England,) wer determinit to interteny and increaſe a contynowall frendfchip with the K. and contre of Denmark; preing ther wiſdomes curagiously to reſiſt, and not febly and fuliſchly to geue plaice, be ther way paſſing, vnto the ſaidis crafty praetyſes of ther ſcornfull envyers, in ſuffering them ſelues ſchamfully to be maid euell inſtrumentis, directly againſt therawen intention and commiſſion; and they ſuld ſchortly ſe gud ſucces to folow therupon to ther contentement. Promyſen vnto them, for my part, that I ſuld paſs instantly vnto his Maieſte, and with all hazard that mycht com, ſuld diſcouer vnto the Kingis Maieſte, how baith he and they wer diſceatfully abuſed be the double dealing of the Engliſ ambaffadour, and ſic Scotiſmen as aſſiſted him.

P. 179. Vpon this discours and promyse, they went to consaill all thre together, as ther custome was; and efter lang conference, gaif me answer, that ther commyng was for to do gud offices, and albeit they had sufferit findre injuries, they wald be fory to be maid instrumentis of discord, sa far against ther commissioun and intention; and therefore wald stay yet, vpon hope of better handling, and vpon my promyse, albeit to that hour few or nane had bene kepit vnto them, as they allegit.

Efter this, I schew vnto his Maieste how that inconvenientis mycht ensue, vpon the lang delaying and frembd handling of the Dence ambassadours. And yet that I maruelit not that he maid sa little accompt of them, in respect of the gret cair and fyn practyses, that wer vsed to cast them and him findre, be the Englis ambassadour and others his assisters that had his Maiesteis ear for the tym. At the first his Maieste was impatient to heir this langage spoken of personages that he had sa gud lyking of; and said, that he was informed, that the K. of Denmark was com bot of marchandis, and that few maid accompt of him or his contre, bot sic as spak the Dutch tong. For this was prety put in his head, to preuent lest any of my persuasions in ther fauour shuld get place or credit. I answerit, that the K. of France, nor Quen of England, culd not speak Dutche, and yet they maid gret accompt of the K. and contre of Denmark; France having ther ambassadour ordinair lying ther, and paying yearly to the K. of Denmark a gret sown of gold, to the valow of 16 or 20 thowfand crownis. His Maieste said, the mair schame was his. I said, rather to the K. of France, wha mon bye his kyndnes. Nether culd the Quen of England, said I, speak Dutch; yet sche maid mekle accompt of the K. and con-

tre of Denmark, and durst not offend him nor nane of his schippis, baith be raifoun of the ftrait paffage at Elfoun vre, and alfo had gret schippis to tak amendis, incaice fche did him or any of his wrang. Then his Maieſte ſaid, that he ſpak bot be way of raifonyng. I ſaid again, be way of wrang infourmation; and ſaid mairouer, that “wher it has bene reported vnto your Maieſte of the race of thir kingis, not to be of noble and royall bluid, I fall ſchaw your Maieſte that it is bot manifelt inventions to cauſe yow diſpyſe them; and that this late K. Frederik is diſcendit of an auld and royall ſtok, [*bot I will paſs na farther therintill*] to wit Chriſtiarnus of Denmark the firſt of that name, wha had tua ſonnes, and ane dochter callit Margaret, married in Scotland to K. James the thrid. His eldeſt ſone Jhon was king efter him; his ſecond ſonne Frederik was K. of Noroway and Duk of Holſtein. Jhon had a ſonne callit Chriſtiarnus the ſecond, alſo K. of Denmark, wha married the emperour Charles the fyftis ſiſter, wha bure him tua dochters only. The eldeſt was geuen in mariage to Frederik Electour Palatin; the ſecond to the Duc of Mylan, and efterwart being a widow, married the Duc of Lorrain. Him ſelf was tane and keped in priſoun be his ſubiectis, for ſome rigorous execution vpon his barrons; and his father brother Frederik was maid K. Efter this Frederik, the Erle of Altenbourg was choſen, be the aſſiſtance of the toun of Lubek; bot Chriſtiarnus the 3., ſone to the ſaid Frederik, pat him out and con-

P. 180. kift the kingdome. Neuertheles this Chriſtiarnus, being a gud prince, wald not chenge ther auld preueleges, bot cauſed him ſelf to be choſen; and lykwais his ſone Frederik in his tym to regne efter him, now preſent K., and wha hes ſend this honorable ambaffade to your Maieſte, aſto his gud frend and kinfman, diſcendit of the kingly race of Denmark.

And wheras he requyres again the ylles of Orkeney, for the discharge of his aith, becaufe euery King of Denmark at his election, that is ane of the articles that is presented vnto hym be the estaitis to fwer, to clame again the saidis yles; quhilk he hes done for the fassion, and till na vther effect bot to draw on a gretter famylarite and frendfchip, or elis he had not fend sa honnorable a company, bot rather a harrauld of armes, gif he had bene ernestly bent other to get the sayd yllis, or to discord and feicht for them."

Efter that his Maieste had hard this discours, far different to his formair, he was exceding glaid, and said he wald not for his head bot that I had schawen and declaired this verite vnto him; and that same efternun fend for the saidis ambassadouris, and schew them how fib he was to the King of Denmark; and excused ther lang delay, and promysed to se them instantly dispassched him self, and that within thre dayes or four; and fend for his efternun and drank to them, and fend them to ther logingis weill content and satisfied; and commandit a bankit to be prepaired for them, quhilk his Maiesteis controllour and officers wer forbidden quyety to do, and allege the skantnes of thingis. Bot the lard of Segy and I delt with the Erle of Marche, wha prepaired a gret banket to them in his Maiesteis name; to the gret discontentement of Mester Wotton and his practifiens, wha durst not kyeth, bot wald not suffer his Maieste to be present at the banket, bot to dyn in his awen chamber. Yet his Maieste being infourmed be me how thingis wer vsed, raife from his awen denner, and past to the banket house, and drank to the K. the Quen and ambassadours of Denmark; and sa contented them ay the langer the better, and caused ther dispassch to be in a redines conform to his promyse. Bot when I aduertist his Maieste

that ther was na present preparit for to reward them withall, he was maruelous fory, and fayed they wald schame him that had the handling of his affaires.

Now at this tym was the Erle of Arran at court, not fa gret in fauour as he was wont to be. During the quhilk tym ther chancit a racles mifreull to fall out, at a day of meting betwen the twa wardens vpon the Borders, wher Sir Francis Ruffell vpon the Englis fyd was flain. Wherupon the Englis ambaffadour tok occaſion to lay the wyet vpon the Erle of Arran; alleging that the lard of Ferniheft, wha was wardane vpon the Scotis fyd, had maried the Erle of Arrans brother dochter, and that the faid erle had caufed the flaughter to be maid, that the Borders mycht brek. Wher the faid ambaffadour was weill affifted be the Meſter of Gray and his marrowes; fa that the Erle of Arran was
P. 181. commandit till ward within the caſtell of Santandrowes, and kepit ſtraitly thre or four dayes. Sa that being in fear of his lyf, he ſend for the crownell Stuart, the lard of Segy and me, and lamented vnto us his hard handling; purging himſelf, as he mycht juſtly do, of that accident that fell out vpon the Borders, and requested us to procure for his liberte. Alſo he declairit vnto us a ſecret, to be ſchawen vnto his Maieſte, incaice his lyf wer tane fra him; quhilk was of a promyſe maid vnto the Quen of England, that the K. ſuld not mary with any party for the ſpaice of thre yeares, wherof I haue maid ſome mention of before. Neuertheles he forget not to trauell for him ſelf, for he ſend his brother Sir Willyem to the Meſter of Gray at midnycht, and promyſed to get vnto him the abbey of Donfermeling, fa that he wald obtean his liberte at his Maieſteis hand. Quhilk was granted incontinent, and alſo the faid benefice diſponit vnto the faid Maifter; wherat

the Englis ambaffadour was in a mayn raige at the Mafter. Bot ther difcord was efterwart agreed be Mefter Jhon Maitland fecretaire and the Juftice Clark; and the Erle of Arran was ordonit to reteir him hame to his houle. Bot before his hame paffing, his Maieftie was informed to defyre him with all poffible deligence, to lend him a great chengze, that he had gotten of befoir from Sir James of Balfour, quhilk weyed a vij^e and fifty corowns, to be geuen vnto the Dence ambaffadouris; quhilk gene he had refused he wald haue tint the K., and in delyuering of it he fuld tyn the chengze.

In the mean tyme, the ambaffadouris vnderftanding that ther difpafche was in a redines, tok ther leaue fra his Maieftie, wha was alfo redy to part out of Santandrowes. I informed his Maieftie not to delyuer them ther difpafche, becaufe the cheingze was not yet com; for they wer myndit incontinent to mak faill, in refpect of ther lang tary, and that the winter feafoun was at hand. Albeit, I had fchawen to ane of ther familiar faruandis, that certane rewardis wer to com ther within tua dayes; preing them to ftay that lang amang the reft. Quhilk they wald not grant to do, bot pafte to ther fchippis, wher I faid I fuld bring vnto them ther wretings and difpafche; quhilk I requested his Maieftie to caufe delyuer vnto my handis, to be kepit vntill the cheingze cam, quhilk was deuydit in thre partis, for it was belliffent. When I cam to ther fchippis, they wer going to fupper; quhilk being done, I delyueret vnto them ther answer in wret, with ther chengzeis, and fome excufes for ther lang tary and litle reward, alwayes to ther gret contentement; affuring me that they fuld be gud instrumentis of amytie, albeit be euell vfiing they wer anes myndit to do otherwayes; and that ther commiffion tended not to difcord, bot to bring on greter frend-

fchip. Nether war they commandit to fpeak of mariage, wherof ther was a wain bruit; thoch the K. ther maifter had fayre dochters, any of the quhilkis being futed, as is requifit that gentilwemen be, they fupponit the clame of Orkeney fuld ga rycht. Thanking me for the gud offices I had done, wher in ftaying them to part in difpleafour, the twa contrees wer preferued from haic warres; quhilk they fuld not fail to declare vnto the K. ther maifter, with whom they fuld not fail to mak my acquante; not dowting bot the K. my mefter wald fome day fay, that I had done him gud feruice. Sa I tok my leaue, efter that I had rewardit the gonners, trompetis and taboringis.

P. 182. At my retournyng to the court, I fchew vnto his Maiefte how that the Dence ambaffadouris had maid fail to ther awen contre weall fa-
tiffied, and of all other fpeeches that was betwen them and me at ther parting. Whervpon his Maiefte tok occafion fchortly efter to fend in Denmark, offering that commiffion firft vnto me; quhilk I fchifted me of, parfauing fic as had his Maiefteis ear and maift credit, contrary to his mariage, and ftill vpon ane courfe with England; and named Mefter Peter Yong, mefter almowffer to his Maiefte, to be very meit for that errand. Wha was fend in Denmark, to thank that K. and to fe his dochters, that he mycht mak report again of his lyking of them; with a promyfe that his Maiefte fuld fend ther or it wer lang ane honorable ambaffade.

The Erle of Arran being fent hame, as faid is, the Englis ambaffadour and his Scotis frendis, as the Mefter of Gray, the fecretary Maitland and Juftice Clark, had the cheif credit and handling of his Maiefteis affaires. The faid ambaffadour had conkiffit fic fauour, and famylier acces about his Maiefte at all tymes, and at hunting, that he was

vpon ane enterpryse to haue brocht in secretly the baniffit lordis, to haue fallen down vpon ther knees in the park of Stirling before his Maieste, at fica tym as they fuld haue sa many frendis in court as that his Maieste fuld haue remanit in ther handis, as maist mesters of the court for the tym. Bot this enterpryse failed him, for they durst not yettak sic hazard as till com in, till they mycht lay ther platis mair substanciouly.

Then the said Englis ambassadour enterprysed, to transport his Maieste out of the park of Stirling into England; and sailgeing therof, his Maieste to be reteanit be force within the castell of Stirling, wher companyes of men wer send for to be ther at ane appointed day. Wherof the secretary Mester Jhon Maitland gaif some intelligence vnto my brother Sir Robert, wha tald it incontinent vnto the Kingis Maieste, and the names of some of the principall enterprysers. And because it cam to ane of ther eares that affirmed stoutly the contrair, wherupon my said brother forsit to mantean the same be the offer of a singulair combat; quhilk his Maieste wald not suffer, because the personage grantit it vnto his Maieste. Wherupon my said brother perswadit his Maieste, with gret dificulte, to depart out of Stirling for ten or xv dayes, and hunt at Kincarn, before that the enterpryse mycht be rype; quhilk sa schone as the said ambassadour vnderstode, he fled in gret fear and haist, without gud nycht or leaue taking at his Maieste; weill instructed and fournissit with the promyses of sic as had assisted him in our court, to perswad the noblemen that wer baniffit in England to com hame, wher they fuld find frendis anew before them in court, to put his Maieste in ther handis as of before. The Mester of Gray also absented him self, and past to Donkell, and ther remanit with the Erle

of Athell. And vpon some bruitis of enterpryses, ther was a proclamation fet out in his Maiesteis name be fic as had his ear, to conkis the
P. 183. mair credit to betrew and cairfull confellours for his Maiesteis securete; quhilk proclamation was efterwart drifted be craft, that the baniffit [lordis] mycht prevene the day, and com in and get the K. in ther handis, wherby they mycht discharge the proclamation at ther plesour. In the mean tym, I refaut a wreting to be at his Maieste with all possible deligence, and another wreting from the Erle of Arran, to accompany him from Kinneill to the court. Bot I past vnto his Maieste, wher the said Erle of Arran cam also that same nycht; for he had procured that he mycht retourn again to court, and remain about his Maieste. At my commyng to Stirling, I gat intelligence, from a secret frend, how that the said lordis were alredy at the entre of the borders, assisted be my Lord Hammiltoun, my L. Maxwell, my L. Bodouell, my L. Hume, and findre others that wer not junit with them of before; also the Erle of Athell, the lard of Tullibarden, Bacleuch, Sefford, Codownknowes, Domlanerik, and others that wer in gretest credit about his Maieste, to concure with them at ther incommyng. Wherof I aduertist his Maieste and the crownell Stuart; wha tok in hand to ryd vnto the borders, and ouerthraw them befor that ther haill forces suld meit together; quhilk was a licly purpos, gene the matter had not bene craftely disaponted be fic as wer about his Maieste, wha seamed to set fordwart the crownelis enterpryse, to please his Maieste and to conkis credit; faying they suld send missyues vnto Kowdonknowes, Bacleuch, Sesford and sic others, to assist with him, whom they knew to be vpon the contrary faction alredy. Sa that the said apperant enterpryse was turnit to na purpos, and his Maieste mocked. And because I had

schawen some of them what aduertifmentis I had gottin, and how that his Maieſte was lyk to be ſtraited with a new taking, I was anſwerit with ſcornfull langage. And incontinent they cauſed his Maieſte to ſend me a fenggeid errand to Donkell, that they mycht the better bring ther purpoſ to paſs without any gainſaing. The coulour of my commiſſion was, to cauſe the Erle of Athell byd at hame, and not to jun with the lordis that wer to com ſchortly to Stirling; and be the way to delyuer a lettre to the balgeis of Sant Jhonſtoun, to be vpon ther gardis, and not to ſuffer any of the Kingis ennemys to com within ther toun. The balgeis inquyred at me, what gif the Erle of Athell and Meſter of Gray wald deſyre to com within ther toun. I ſaid they mycht let them ſelues enter, with ten in company, bot na ma. They allegit that ther lettre ſpecified not that far. I ſchew them how that was committed to me be mouth; the concluſion of my lettre willing them to credit me. When I cam to Donkell, I knew that the Erle of Athell wald not ſtay for me; wha had a thouſand men in a redines to tak the toun of Sant Jonſtoun, and to com forduart to Stirling, togither with the Meſter of Gray wha was yet with him. Bot I ſchew him that the crownell Stuart was riden with forcis, to deffait the lordis at ther entring in the contre, before they mycht be junit togither; therefore he wald do weill to ly at hame, vntill he mycht vnderſtand the yſſue of the ſaid cronelis enterpryſe. Gif that tok effect, it wer folly to him till marche forduart; and gene it tok na effect, he mycht do as his heart ſerued him. He thoct this conſaill gud; willing me to wret vnto his Maieſte for a liſſence to him and his to remain at hame fra the proclamation, quhilk I did.

In the mean tyme, the Meſter of Gray wes ſent for to the court; the

P. 184. portis of the toun of Perth being refused to his men, wha wer com out of Angus to affist him. At his retournyng to court, he was alse gret with his Maieste as euer he was, and remanit within the castell of Stirling with his Maieste; wher ther wer twa factiōns that kythed them selues, sa fchone as they saw the malcontentis and baniffit lordis draw neir vnto the toun of Stirling; wher they cam to the number of thre thowfand, and entrit into the toun without stop. For his Maieste inclynit maist to the factiōn that brocht in the saidis lordis; wha aduyfed his Maieste to send some of them down to the toun, to commown and compon matters. Quhilk was agreed vpon at lenth, that his Maieste fuld remain in ther handis, and na rygour to be vsed vnto them that wer about him; sa that they wha past betwen mycht appear to be gud instrumentis, and stayers of bludscheding. For Arran was eschaiped and fled at ther first entre; bot the crownell Stuart only with ten or tuelf, gaif them sic a charge in the midis of the narrow part of the toun, that a litle mair help mycht haue put them in gret difordour; for the maist part of ther southland men and borderers wer busy spoilgeing horse and geir.

The lordis, when they cam to his Maiesteis prefens, sat down vpon ther knees, humbly craving pardone, for that ther hard handling be Arran and vther partiall perfones about his Maieste had compellit them, vpon plane necessite and for ther last refuge, to tak the baldnes to com in armes for the sauate of ther lyues and landis; alwayes humbly myndit to ferue and obey his Maieste.

The King again, lyk a prince full[of] curage and magnanimite, spak vnto them pertly and boistlingly, as thoch he had bene victorious ouer them, calling them traitours, and ther enterpryse plane trefoun. Yet,

saïd he, in respect of ther necessite, and in hope of ther gud behauour in tymes commyng, he fuld remit ther faltis; and the rather because they had vsed na vengeance nor crewelte at ther incommyng.

In the mean tym, his Maïeste committed and recommendit the keping of the Erles of Montroise and Crafford, vnto my L. Hammiltoun; and the keping of the crownell Stuart, vnto my L. Maxuell. Thir thre wer in some danger for a whyll, because they wer esteamed to haue tane ouer stark part with the Erle of Arran in his particulaires. The rest of his Maïesteis seruandis wer ouersean and spaired. Sir Robert my brother, and his sone, wer baith courteously vsed. This moderat behauour of the lordis conkist daly mair and mair of his Maïesteis fauour; preffing his Maïeste in nathing bot be the humble intercession of sic as had his Maïesteis ear of before. A parlement was proclaimed at Lithco for ther restitution; to the quhilk part his Maïeste was conveyed, ther to pass his tym at hunting, and to recreat his spritis.

Many noblemen and vthers wer wreten for, to com vnto the saïd parlement; amang the rest the Erle of Athell, to whom I had bene sent and was with him at the lordis incommyng to Stirling; wher I was tareing vpon ane answer from his Maïeste, quhilk the Erle of Athell had willit me desyre be wret, as saïd is.

P. 185. When I cam to kifs his Maïesteis hand, I was glaidly maid welcom; his Maïeste alleging that I wes corbe messenger. I saïd, that my absens with the Erle of Atholl had faued all my horse and the toun of Sant Jhonstoun vntane; and had kepit bak the saïd Erle from affisting with the rest. Sa that gene they that remanit at Stirling with him, had kepit the south fyd afweill and als fre as I keped the north fyd, ther horse had bene saif afweill as myn was.

Then his Maieſte ſaid, that God had turnit all for the beſt; being of before nuriffit in ane oppinion, that his lyf wald be in danger, incaice that thir noblemen mycht be his meſter; and now having him and all his ſaruandis in ther power, they had vſed na rygour nor reuenge. His hynes remembrit alſo, how oft I had foirwarnit him of this and ſic vther accidentis, that I ſaid wald fall out vpon the Erle of Arrans rafche proceedingis; and ſaid, that he had bene ane euell inſtrument, ſa that he ſuld never haue place nor credit again about him; willing me to abyd at court, and help to do all gud offices betwen him and his nobilite, and to tell them the treuth, wha had the wyet of ther trouble, and that he had gret hurt and na vantage therby; as a prince that ſocht na mans lyf, landis nor geir, bot only the ſatteling of his ſubiectis amang them ſelues, and his paſetym, quhilk certainly I mycht juſtly teſtifie. His Maieſte tald me alſo, that he had ſchawen vnto the noblemen my honeſt and frendly aduyſes towardis them; and how that I oponit my ſelf continowally to the Erle of Arrans proceedingis. He willit me alſo to help to ſatiſſie the miniſters, ſeaking alſo to be reſtored vnto ther formair fre aſſemblees, quhilkis had bene forbidden in tym of the Erle of Arran.

Sa that I taried a whyll beſyd his Maieſte vntill matters tok ſome ſtedfaſt ſatteling. Dyuers of the lordis alſo requested me to tary and offerit me gret kyndnes; ſaying that his Maieſte had tald them euery mans part and behauour towardis ther baniſſement and perſecution; and how I was euer vpon a moderat courſe, and deſyred ane law of obliuion to be maid for all bygains during his minorite. The ſaidis lordis therefore cauſed me propone ſome of ther futtis vnto his Maieſte, whom they wald not preſs by his pleaſour in nathing. But the con-

faill was in dyuers oppinions concernyng the restoring of the ministers to ther formair preueleges; wher I was brocht in to say my oppinion. The maist part thocht meit to delay them for a tym, cheifly sic as had remainit about his Maieste, and had said ouer far to the contrair of before. My oppinion was, that his Maieste had na wyet that the noblemen wer banissit, nor yet that the ministers preueleges wer tane fra them; bot all tha insolences wer done be sic euell instrumentis as dominit ouer his Maiesteis gud mynd and ear, throw the vehemency of ther ambition; wha now being fled and absent, why fuld not the ministers be restored to ther formair preueleges, asweill as the noblemen to ther landis and honnours, or elis the blame wilbe laid vpon his Maieste. The secretaire for the tym was against this oppinion, for he had some tymes spoken ouer far in the contraire; bot the rest of the noblemen and counsaill thocht my oppinion best. Bot it was not folowed then, nor granted at that parlement; bot schortly efterwart, the ministers obtenit at his Maieste all ther formair preueleges.

P. 186. It is mentionit alredy, how that Mester Almouffer was sent in Denmark; and schortly efter him, the crownell Stuart tok occasion to pass ther for his awen adois; for he had ane pension of the K. of Denmark. He obtenit also some wreting, wherby he had matter to speak of the Kingis mariage with the K. of Denmarkis eldest dochter; and they baith returnit with sa gud and frendly answers, that ther was litle mair mention maid of the restitution of the ylles of Orkeney. The K. of Denmark was also put in hope be them, that his Maieste fuld send the nyxt sommer ane honnorable ambassade in Denmark, to deall farther in tha matters.

I haue ſchawen alredy of the dangerous practyſes of the Engliſh ambaffadour Meſter Wotton, and of a part of ther effectis, bot the principall is yet behind. The conſaill of England having concludit to tak the lyf from the Quenis Maieſte, his hynes mother, efter ſche had bene many yeares keped captywein England, thocht firſt to get the King hir ſone in ther handis; and to put him in hope that he ſuld get the kingdome of England, the rather that he was within ther contre. It the mean tym, to be ſure that he ſuld not be able to reuenge his mothers dead, and to be as a plege amang them, incaice that his contremen, or his forren and Frenche frendis, wald pretend to menace them, or to mak warre for his liberte or for hir death; that they mycht boiſt again to cut him off, gif for his cauſe they ſuld be troublit. And however it wer, with tym it was ſuſpected that they intendit to tak his lyf alſo, efter that they had layed ther platis how till mak him odious to the people, be falſe conterfit lettres, and allegit practyſes, (at they had craftely and diſceatfully allegit vpon his mother,) againſt the eſtate. Bot ſeing this practyſe of his careing in England to haue bene diſcouerit be my brothers intelligence, the ſaid ambaffadour fled, as ſaid is; and for the nyxt beſt, thocht meit to ſe his Maieſte put in the handis of the maiſt part of his nobilitie, wha wer baniſſit for the tym, and be wicked instrumentis ſa wracked and offendit, that it was anough to haue cauſed them tak his lyf, or elis kepit him in perpetuell priſoun.

Bot the noblemen that had bene baniſſit, and wer ſend hame out of England, for that intention vpon Englandis part, vſed them ſelues ſa moderatly and diſcretly for ther part, that they ſocht nathing bot ther awen natyue contre and landis; that they mycht haue acces to ſerue and obey ther prince, without any farther vengeance or rygour againſt

ther particulier ennemys; as all ther actions and proceedingis haue sufficiently declaired sen fyn, to the gret increase of ther fauour with his Maieste, and estymation of the haill contre. It hes bene fendle fean in any contre, sa many gret alterations to be maid, as hes bene in Scotland laitly in this Kingis tym, with sa litle bludschedding.

Now they that wer ennemys to our Quen and Kingis tytle to the rycht of the crown of England, seing some of ther fetches to fail them, entrit in deliberation what way to proceed in the taking of the Quenis lyf. Sometymes they myndit to geue hir ane Italien possset;
P. 187. sometimes to fley hir at the hunting in ane park; bot at lenth, be the way of ane affise, to conwick hir. Wherin they wer weill helpit be the deuyce of Mester Archebald Douglas and some vther Scottis men, that maid hir intelligence to conkis credit; sa that writingis and chif-fers past betwen hir and them, and betwen hir and some catholiks of England that fauorit hir. Sa that be tymes lettres wer forgit, and other mens handwretis conterfeit; wherunto sche making some answers, anent some outgaitis for hir liberte, thir trikis of ther awen deuyces wer interpret against hir for treasoun. Then hir Maieste had a Frenche secretaire, callit M. Naw, wha was easely corrupted to discouer all hir Maiesteis intelligences and doingis; wha was richely rewardit be my L. Bourlis moyen, and was na vther wayes tormented to tell the verite.

All thir callomnies and false accusations being presented in wret vnto the Quen of England, hir hart wald not suffer hir, as sche allegit, to let any sentence be geuen fourth against the Quen, hir dear sister and cufine, sa neir of hir royall blud; vntill the consaill, nobilite and estaitis, at least sic as wer seducit to that effect, sat down vpon ther knees, humbly requesting hir Maieste to haue compassion vpon ther vnfore

estait, albeit sche cared not for hir awen, be the practyses of the Quen of Scotland. Wherby sche was at lenth moued, for very pitie of them, to geue fourth the sentence of death vpon the Quen, with condition that it suld rather serue to be a fear and terrour vnto hir, to cause hir cease from making any ma practyses, then that sche wald se the bluid of sa noble a princes to be sched. And in the mean tym the wreten sentence was geuen in keping to Mester Dauiffoun, ane of hir secretaries, and not to be delyuerit without hir Maiesteis exprefs command.

Nevertheles the said Dauiffoun being deffault be the confaill, efterwart delyuerit vnto them the said wreten sentence of death. Wherupon they gaif the Quen warnyng, a nycht of before, to prepaire hir for God. Quhilk schort warnyng sche tok very patiently, and lay not down that nycht to sleep bot wret some lettres vnto the K. hir sonne, the K. of France, and to some vther princes hir frendis. And efter sche had maid hir testament, put the gold that sche had in als many litle purses as sche had seruandis, mair or les in euery purs, conform to ther qualites and deferuyngis. The rest of the nycht sche employed in prayer, and being in the mornyng convoyed out of hir chamber, to the gret hall wher the skaffald was prepaired, sche tok hir dead patiently, constantly and curageously ending hir lyf, crewelly handled be the bourreau, with dyuers straikis of the axe. Quhilk execution was the baldlier perfourmed, that some Scottisemen assured them, that the K. hir sonne wald schone forget it. Albeit, his Maieste when he vnderstode of thir sorowfull newes, tok hauy displefour, and convenit ane parlement; wherin he lamented the myshandling of the Quen his mother, be his ennemys that wer in England, desyring the assistance of his subiectis, to seak to be reuengit. Wher all the ef-

P. 188. taitis, in a voice, cryed out in a gret rage, to set fordwart, and promysed that they fuld all hazard ther lyues, and spend ther gudis and geir largely to that effect, and to get a mendis of that vnkyndly and vnlawfull mourther. Quhilk pat the consaill of England in gret fear for a whyll; bot some of our contre men comforted them, and sa did some Englis that hanted our court, alleging it wald be schone forget. Others said that the bluid was alredy fallen from his Maiesteis hart, and gif it wer not, they fuld cause the matter fall out sa to ther contentement.

First when the Kingis Maieste hard, that they wer about till accuse and convict the Quen his mother, he send Sir Robert my brother and the Mester of Gray, to deall for hir Maieste. Wher my said brother spak braue and stout langage to the consaill of England; sa that the Quen hir self boisted him of his lyf, and efterwart had bene retenit captiue, wer not the credit that his collig had, and the promyses that he had maid, wherby they wer baith sufferit to com hame together.

A four monethes of before, his Maieste caused wret for me to be send in England, to confirm a band of alliance offensywe and deffensywe with the Quen and Crown of England, and to tak the Quen of Englands aith for obseruyng of the said band, and Mester Randolphe wha was heir alredy, to tak the Kingis aith, and vse the lyk ceremony heir. At my commyng to court, I did what I culd to be schifted of the said commission, being a matter of sa gret consequence as ane indiret breking of the band with France. Yet his Maieste wald tak na excuse, bot thocht meit to send me ther, that I mycht get him fur knowlege of findre thingis, quhilk his Maieste supponit another wald not get, be raifoun that all his mothers frendis and his awen that wer in that court and contre, wer best and langeft acquainted with my brether and me.

Bot ſa ſchone as Meſter Randolphe had hard that I was to be ſend in England, he deſyred audience of his Maieſte, and uſed all the perſuaſions he culd to get me ſtayed, and another ſend that mycht be found meter for the tym. Efter that his Maieſte had raifonit lang with him theranent, he callit vpon me, and tald me how that Meſter Randolphe had ſpoken ſa mekle gud of me, whom he loued better then any Scotis ſubiect for our auld acquaintance; bot ſaid, that I wald not be acceptable to the Quen his meſtres at this tym, becauſe Sir Robert my brother had bene alwais, and was yet vtterly vpon hir faction; and alſo that my brother Sir Andro of Garvok, was for the tym in England hir Maieſteis maifter houſhald. His Maieſte ſaid, he replied again that I was never eſteamed a factioner, and wald not yeild at the firſt; bot I requested his Maieſte to grant him his deſyre as then; for I had na will of that commiſſion, knawing that ther was nathing menit bot fraudfull dealing be England with him at that tym. “It is for that cauſe,” ſaid he, “that I wald haue you ther.” “And it is for that cauſe, fir,” ſaid I, “that I wald fayn eſchew the ſame, with your
P. 189. hynes fauour.” His Maieſte ſaid, that he maruelit that Randolphe fuld ſeam to lyk ſa weill of me, and yet deſyre another to be ſend. I ſchew his Maieſte again, how that in France and in Italy we lyked other very weill; bot in the handling of his Maieſteis affaires, we ſchot at findre markis. His Maieſte wald ſtill haue me totak that commiſſion, and aſkit whom I beleuit that Meſter Randolphe wald wis to be ſend. I anſwerit, other the Meſter of Gray, or elis Meſter Archebald Douglas. For the Meſter of Gray had maid moyen for Meſter Archebald, and had brocht him hame out of England, and had ſemond ane aſſiſe of his awen frendis, to cleange him of the lait Kingis mourther; and being cleangit, he hanted in court famylierly with his Maieſte.

It was he indeid that Mester Randolphe desyred to be send, or the Mester of Gray, or baith in a commiffion ; bot his Maieſte wald not conſent therto. Then the laird of Cowdownknowes, capten of the caſtell of Edenbrough, desyred the commiffion. Bot Mester Randolphe wald haue nane other ; cauſing the Quen his meſtreſs wret bak, that it was not neidfull to ſend any ambaffadour for that errand at that tym ; only that the K. wald wret with his awen hand, that ane ſuld be ſend when ſche thocht tym, affuring be his ſaid lettre, that it was in effect alredy concludit in his mynd, as gene the ceremonie wer perfourmed. Quhilk lettre was ſend to the Engliſ ambaffadour, that was reſident in France for the tym, to be producit before the K. of France and Quen Mother, to let them knaw, that albeit the K. of Scotland was futen hir Maieſte for ane alliance offenſywe and deffenſywe, quhilk wald be a novation and a breking of the auld band with France, yet ſche wald not put them in ſuſpition and gelouſie of hir, in conſenting therto, as caring little for the Scotis Kingis ſickill friendſchip or ſead, ſa lang as France and ſche kepit their paice and frendſchip together. Quhilk was done only to diſgrace and diſcredit the K. with the K. of France ; ſa that ther procedit na mair fruitis of the ſaid intendit band, and I glaid to tary at hame. Lykwais when the bruit was of the Spaniſh navy, in the 1587, to com in thir partis, I was ordonit to be ſent in Spain ; quhilk voyage I happely alſo eſchewed.

Now to retourn again to Mester Archebald Douglas. He retournit bak to England to remain ambaffadour ther for his Maieſte ; be the quhilk meanis he obtenit the greter credit with the Quen his Maieſteis mother. Bot my brother Sir Robert, when he was ſend ther to procure, and to uſe ſchairp and boiſting langage, to ſe gif that mycht ſaif

the Quenis lyf, he difchargit Mefter Archebald of the office of ambafadour. This is a parentefis be the way, to fchaw how far a gud K. hes bene abufed, and led be myngnons that he lyked weall of, to his Maiefteis gret hurt and difhonnour.

P. 190. In this mean tym, for fome difordour vpon the weft borders between the Maxuelis and Jhonftons, his Maiefte paft ther to refourm ther difobedience. Bot fome houfes wer kepit, and wald not render vnto his Maiefte. Wherupon Mefter Jhon Maitland being maid chanceler, the Mefter of Gray and vthers fauourers of the Englis faction, confellit his Maiefte to fend to Berwick, becaufe it was allegit to be nereft, to borrow canons to befeige the faid houfis. Quhilk gons wer glaidly lent be the governour of Berwik; quhilk apperantly he durft not haue done without knowlege and confent of the Quen and confaill, wha thocht therby that his Maiefte had forget the gret boift that was maid at the foirnamed parlement, anent the reuenge of his mothers dead. For his Maiefte, efter he had rypely confiderit the beft and worft of that dede, remembrit him felf of the many frendis he had in England, wha had na wyet of his mothers wrak; and for a few number that gydit the court and Quen, he wald not trouble the eftait of the haille contre, wherof he was apperant ayre. And alfo becaufe the Quen was of gud yeares, not able to lyue ouer lang, he wald abynd his tym to be reuengit vpon his ennemys. As for the Quen his gud fifter, fche had fworn and purgit hir felf of the death of his mother; being difceaueid be hir confaill, and be the fecretary Dauiffoun, whom fche committed to be gardit in the tour of Londown. This was the convoy of that vnkouth, vnkyndly mourther.

Schortly efter this, ther was a gret bruit of the Spanifh navy, boun

to land in England, Scotland, or Yreland. And then also wer entred about his Maieſte a new faction, wherof the Erle of Huntly was cheif-
feſt, wha had laitly married the Duc of Lenox ſiſter. This new faction
aſpyring be litle and litle to ſhut out the Meſter of Gray, the chan-
celer and vthers that aſſiſted with them, and to retean part of them
that wer in court of before; wher ther wer dyuers conſpyracies to ſley
the chanceler, and ſic as had aſſiſted him to be remoued. And becauſe
they ſtak ouer lang be the court, therles Huntly, Bodowell, with ſome
vthers, thocht to haue tane the King and kepit him. Albeit tua of
ther enterpryſes failed, yet they wald haue bene nereſt about his Ma-
ieſte at the incommyng of the Spaniardis; and in the mean tym wer
myndit to cauſe his Maieſte ſend Sir Jhon Seatoun in Spain. Bot his
Maieſte wald haue nane to be ſend bot me; wherupon the chanceler
and my brother Sir Robert wret vnto me, willing me not to reſuſe,
becauſe they ſaid his Maieſte wald haue ane ther of his awen religion,
and that wald not be corrupted, on whom he wald repoſe. Yet his
Maieſte had na will to deall with Spain, and I had aſlitle deſyre to
mak the voyage. Albeit, Sir George Douglas ſuttet the ſaid commiſ-
ſion, as ane that had aſſiſted his Maieſteis mother; yet it tok na effect.
The Erle of Huntly in the mean tym was prouydit with the benefice
of Domfermeling, quhilk was tane fra the Meſter of Gray laitly de-
courted, and geuen to him.

P. 191. How that the Spaniſh gret navy wer thre yeares in making ther
preparation, and wer ſufficiently and ſubſtancially furniſſit with men,
munition, and all kynd of neceſſaires, is now manifeſt to all Europe.
What was ther intent and purpoſ was ſa ſecret, that the chiftans of
the army knew na mair bot as they fuld vnderſtand be the oppenyng

of ther stamped instructions at euery apponted landing place. Many ar of oppinion, that they wer first disaponted be the Duc of Parma, gouernour of Flanders; wha had behaued him felf in his charge fa circomfpecky, in his promyfes fa trewly, in his enterpryfes fa stoutly, that he wan the hartis of his foldiours, and the fauour of his ennemyes, that he was fufpected to vfurp the eftait of Flanders be the K. of Spane, and therefore was myndit to remoue him out of that gret and riche gouernement. He being miscontent, as was allegit, nother four-niffit the faid army vituallis, nor affifted them with fchippis and men nor sufferit them to land in his boundis. At leaft they tok fa gret fufpition of him, that they landed not; bot wer lyen at ancre, when Mefter Draikis be a ftrategeme fubtilly deuysed of a fchip full of poudre with a bournyng lont, quhilk kendlit vp the poudre fa fchone as the Englifh fchip was dryuen be a direct vehement wynd within the midis of the part wher the Spanifh fchippis lay; bournyng therby dyuers of ther gret fchips, and caufing the reft to cut the cordis of ther ancrs, for haift to efchew the fury of the fyre. Wher in the mean tym God fend fic a ftrange ftorm of wynd, that the haill navy wer blawen and broken vpon dyuers coiftis of our ylles, and of Yreland, and ther wrak was the greter that they wanted ther anckres.

It is fpecified of before, how that Mefter Peter Yong, mefter almofer to his Maiefte, and the crownell Stuart, wer retournit from Denmark, weill rewardit and contented with euery thing that they had fean, and cheifly with the fair yong princeffis; and alfo how they had put the K. of Denmark in hope, that the Kingis Maiefte our maifter fuld in the nyxt fomer fend ther ane honnorable ambaffade, to deall farther to the increafe of a greter focietie and amytie. And for this effect, the

Bifchop of Santandrous, the Lard of Segy and I wer named to be fend; bot I was reterit and had na will to medle, feing his Maieftis affaires fa henderit be fic as had greteft handling about him. Therefore the chanceler deuyfed the Lard of Barnbarrow and Mefter Peter to be employed in that turn, with vncertane and vnrefolut instructions; alwayes to propon mariage, and with dyuers faire allegeances anent his Maieftis fufficient richt to the ylles of Orkeney; quhilkis the K. of Denmark was myndit to fut mair fchairply, wer not the hope he was put in, of the apperant mariage of the Kingis Maiefte with his eldeft dochter.

Thir ambaffadours wer not weill imbarkit, when Mons^r du Bartas arriuit heir to vefit the Kingis Maiefte, who, he hard, had him in gret eftream, for his rare poefies fet out in the Frenche tong. He wald not fay that he had a fecret commiffion, to propone the Princes of Navarre to be married with his Maiefte; bot that the King of Navars fecretary willit him, (feing he was to com this way), as of his awen head to propone the faid mariage. P. 192. Mons du Bartas qualites wer fa gud, and his credit fa gret with his Maiefte, that it apperit gif the ambaffadouris had not alredy maid faill, that ther voyage fuld haue bene ftayed for that feafoun. The chanceler affured Mons^r du Bartas, as he fchew me, that the mariage of Denmark fuld not tak effect; for our ambaffadours had indeid fic ftrait injunctions, and fa slender a commiffion, that it was anough to haue caufed the King of Denmark to ftart and to quarell our K., wer not that they delt at ouer ther commiffion, quhilk kepit that K. in fome temper. Albeit they retournit without fruit, full of difpleafour, thinking them felues fcornit, as they wer indede.

In the mean tym that they wer in Denmark, Mons^r du Bartas being

in Facland with his Maieſte, cam to my houſe to perſwad me to tak a commiſſion in hand, quhilk he ſaid his Maieſte wald lay to my charge; quhilk was, to be ſend vnto the K. of Navarre, and to be acquainted with Madame the princeſs his ſiſter. And becauſe his Maieſte knew that I wald be laith to gang, he named alſo my L. of Tungland my brother; wha tok the voyage in hand, and maid gud acquaintance with the ſaid princeſs, and was weill traited and rewardit be the K. hir brother, now King of France, and brocht with him the picture of the princeſs, with a gud report of hir rare qualites.

The Lard of Barnbarrow and Meſter Peter Yong being retournit bak from Denmark, declaired how that the K. of Denmark thocht na-thing of ther commiſſion bot fecles dealing, and dryuyng of tym, and faire langage without any power to conclud. I am incertane whither he gat intelligence of his Maieſte ſending my brother to the King of Navar; bot the marieing of his eldeſt dochter ſa ſchortly eſter with the Duc of Brinſſwik, geues ſome apperance that he had gottin ſome intelligence therof from the court of England, wha wer weill anough inſourmed of all our proceedingis.

Eſter this, the crownell Stuart being willing to ſe the mariage with the K. of Denmarkis dochter tak effect, paſt ther vpon his awen charges dyuers tymes; and ſeing the eldeſt dochter alredy married, he excuſed the K. Maieſte, and layed the blame vpon them that had the handling of his affaires. Sa that the K. of Denmark promyſed yet to geue his ſecond dochter vnto the K. with condition that ambaffadours ſuld be ſend ther the nyxt year before the firſt day of May. In the mean tym, the K. of Denmark tok ſeaknes and departed this lyf, leaving the ſame commiſſion with his conſaill, and ſic as wer appointed for regentis of the realm.

Now the Kingis Maiesteis mariage being futed of findre gret princes, and his ambaffadours being com bak, baith out of Denmark and Navarre, with the pictures of the yong princeffes, his Maieste determinit first to feak counsaill at God, be his earnest prayer, to address him wher it wald be metest, and the weill of him self and his contre. Sa that efter fyften dayes aduyfement and deuot prayer, as said is, he callit his counsaill together in his cabinet, and tald them how that he had bene aduyfen and
P. 193. praying vnto God, the space of fyften dayes, to moue his hart the way that was metest, and that he was resolut to mary in Denmark. The counsaill apperit all to be content of his resolution, requyring meat instrumentis to be employed to conclud the mariage and to mak the contract. Then his Maieste said, that he had alre dy chosen me in his mynd for ane, willing the counsaill to name another; quhilk they did, to wit my L. of Attry, the Erle Marchallis oncle.

We twa being wreten for and com to court, fand not sic earnestnes with the counsaill as with the King; quhilk my L. of Attry persaving, drew hame again, excusing him self vpon his age and feaklynes. His Maieste vfed many persuations and raifouns to cause me tak the voyage in hand; declairing how that he had many tymes send for me to be employed in ambaffaddis, and culd not tell what was the cause that I went not. I answerit, that his Maieste wald haue done me that honour abone my deseruyngis, quhilk he wald not haue done gif he had knawen my vnablenes and insufficiency, asweill as I did my self. His Maieste said, that this his mariage was the grettest matter that euer he had ado, and culd tak na refuse. I said that my Lord of Tungland my brother was far meiter nor my self, being a gud scollair, and culd perfytly speak the Latin, hy Dutche, the Flemyn and the Frence tong.

Bot his Maieſte wald repoife ſtill vpon me in that erand, bot was content that my ſaid brother ſuld paſs in commiſſion with me.

Then his Maieſte ſaid, “albeit the conſaill will form your inſtructions, ye ſhall reſaue myn out of my awen mouth. Thre headis in ſpeciall. The firſt, gif the K. of Denmark had, at the pleaſour of God, bene alywe vntill this tym, he wald not haue ſtand to geue a gret tocher with his dochter, wherin the regentis and conſaill wilbe als ſpairing as they can. I dout not therefore bot ye will draw out of them ſamekle as may be had; bot at lenth, ſtand not for ſiluer to paſs fordwart with the concluſion of the mariage. The ſecond head is, to know what frendſchip and aſſiſtance they will mak me, when it may pleaſe God to place me bericht in the kingdome of England, be diſceſe of this Quen, incaice any contre men or vthers wald wrangeouſly pretend till vſurp and debar me fra the ſame. Thridly, concernyng the ylles of Orkeney, ye mon chuſe any man of law that ye pleaſe; for that head mon be anſwerit and delaited be form of law. Alwais, gif the mariage tak effect, that purpoſ will not be ouer preciſly ſuttet nor handled. It may be that my conſaill will geue yow ſtraiter conditions, bot this inſtruction of myn ye ſhall ſollow fourth, let them ſay what they pleaſe.” When I ſchew his Maieſte that I wald tak with me, for man of law, Meſter Jhon Skein, his Maieſte thocht then that ther wer many better lawyers. I ſaid, that he was beſt acquainted with the conditions of the Germanes, and culd mak them lang harrangues in Latin, and was a gud trew ſtout man, lyk a Dutche man. Then his Maieſte was content that he ſuld ga ther with me.

P. 194. Efter this I taried lang at court, and culd ſe na preparation for our diſpaſche, nother ther ſiluer nor ſchip maid redy; and the apponted tym

that we fuld haue bene in Denmark was past, to wit before the first day of May. For it was ordonit sa be the K. of Denmark or he died, that incaice that day was not kepit, that they wald think them selues bot skouffit. Quhilk moued me the mair to employ my frendis in court to cause another be named in my place, seing sa many futting for to get the said commission. The chanceler gaif me sic terrous as he culd for his part. Now the Erle Marchall had desyred to supple the place of his oncle my L. of Attry, and his Maieste was content that he fuld be send ther. Wherupon I tok occasion to say vnto his Maieste, that the said erle was very meit, and wald ga the better contented, gif he mycht haue in commission with him some of his awen frendis and acquaintance. His Maisteis answer was, that it was his part to cheise his awen ambassadouris, and that the Erle Marchall fuld haue the first plaice as a nobleman, bot that he wald repoise the cheif handling with the regentis and consaill of Denmark vpon me. Then I declaired how that the apponted tym was past, and that ther was na apperance of any preparation of schip or siluer; wherat his Maieste was very angry. And when I named the lard of Barnbarrow, or Mester Peter Yong, wha had bene ther before, his Maieste wald not; for the blame and wyet was wrangeously laid vpon ther vn sufficiency and mishandling, that matters tok not the desyred success of before.

Wald not this kynd of court handling skar any man to be a medler in sic weichty matters, wher sic men ar preferrit, and the haill bourding of the princes affaires committed to ther cair and credit? Wha confellit his Maieste to send first to the Quen of England, and requyre hir consent and aduyse to the said mariage with Denmark; wha they knew wald not only disswad his Maieste from the said mariage, bot

also stay him fra any mariage, as sche and hir counsaill had euer done and delt, baith with his mother and him self. When I vnderstod of this new delay, I obteanit liscence to pass hame to my house, and mak me redy vpon the nyxt warnyng. In the mean tym, the seasoun of the year was weall spent. The Quen of Englandis answer was, not to mary in Denmark. Sche had credit with K. and princes of Navarre, quhilk wald be far better. In the mean tym, sche wret to the K. of Navarre to hald bak the mariage of his sifter for thre yeares, for sic friuoll respectis as caried na raisoun.

Vpon this answer of England, our counsaill wer convenit, and prati-kit and intyfed to vot, as the maist part of them did, against the mariage of Denmark. Wherat his Maieste tok sic a dispyt, as that he caused ane of his maist famylier seruandis deall secretly with some of the deakens of the craftismen of Edenbrough, to mak a maner of a mutinerie against the chanceler and counsaill; boisting to slay the said chanceler, incaice the mariage with the K. of Denmarkis dochter wer hendrit or any langer delayed. This boisting and fear caused a new resolution to be tane, that the Erle Marchall fuld be dispassched with deligence, and the constable of Dundee and my L. Andrew Keith, whom the said erle
P. 165. requested his Maieste to send with him. Quhilk his Maieste granted the mair easely, because he fand sa many difficultes in this matter, and some of my frendis had schawen vnto him, that I wald not be discontent that he sent with the said erle sic as he desyred.

Now it wes yet a lang tym, before the Erle Marchall culd be maid redy and dispassched. Then at his dealing with the counsaill of Denmark, his power to conclud wes sa limitat, and his commissioun sa sklander, that he wes compellit to send bak again my Lord Dinguall, other

for a liscence to com hame, or for a sufficient power to conclud. Wher it chancit that he fand his Maieſte at Aberdene, and the chanceler and maiſt part of the conſaill abſent; quhilk was a gret furtherance to get a full power, to conclud the contract and ceremonie of the mariage be the Erle Marchall; wha was incontinent diſpaſched be the regentis and conſaill of Denmark, and the Quen fend hame with him weill accompanied. Bot the tempeſteous wyndis drawe them vpon the coift of Nouroway, wher they landit and ſtayed a lang tym vpon fair wind and wether. Quhilk ſtorm of wind was allegit to haue bene raifed be the witches of Denmark, be the confeſſion of findre of them, when they wer brunt for that cauſe. It that moued them, they ſaid, was a kuff or a blaw quhilk the admyrall of Denmark gaue to ane of the bailgeis of Copenhoun; whais wyf conſulting with hir affociatis in that art, raifed the ſaid ſtorm, to be reuengit vpon the ſaid admyrall.

His Maieſte had hard that they wer vpon the ſee, and left nathing ondone to mak all in a redines to reſaue the Quen and hir company honorably; bot in the mean tym, was very impatient and ſorrowful for hir lang delay, laying the blame vpon the chanceler, and ſic others of his conſaill as had planly voted againſt the ſaid mariage, and had delayed the diſpaſche of the ambaffadouris ſa lang, vntill the ſeaſoun of ſealling vpon tha fees was neir paſt. The ſtormes wer alſo ſa gret heir, that ane boit periffit betwen Brunteland and Leith, wherin was a gentilwoman callit Jene Kenete, wha had been lang in England with the Quen his Maieſteis mother and was ſen ſyn married vpon my brother the maiſter houſhald to hir Maieſte, Sir Andro Meluille of Garvok. Quhilk gentilwoman being diſcret and graue, was ſent for be his Maieſte, to be about the Quen his bedfallow. Sche being willing to mak

deligence, wald not stay, for the storm, to fail the ferry ; wher the vehement storm draue a schip forceably vpon the said boit, and drownit the gentilwoman and all the personnes except twa. This the Scotis witches confessit vnto his Maieste to haue done. Wher I tint also tua faruandis.

Now his Maieste remanit quyety in the castell of Craigmyllair, not content with the maist part of his confaill, as said is, and culd not sleip nor rest, In the mean tym, he directed the crownell Stuart to my brother Sir Robert and me, charging us to tak cair of his mishandled estait in tym commyng ; lamenting how that he was abused be sic as he had ouer mekle reposed vpon, and that he had alwayes found us faithfull and cairfull for his wealfaire ; willing us to sit down, and aduyse how he mycht best put remedy to thingis past, and eschew sic inconvenientis in tymes commyng ; for he was determinit heirefter to re-poise maist vpon our confaill.

P. 196. Our answer vnto his Maieste was, that we had gret cause till render his Maieste maist humble thankis for the gud oppinion that he had of us, quhilk we suld tak panes at our power till deferue ; and wer very fory for the displeasour that his hyenes had tane ; preing his Maieste that he wad tak patience, and as that he had alwayes reposed vpon his God, and not vpon men, that the same God wald mend his estait, as he had oft tymes done before. Presently our only cair suld be, how to rafaue honorably the Quen, wha was vpon the sea, we daly loking for hir landing ; and nyxt, how to trait and reward the noblemen of Denmark, hir hynes convoy. That being done and they returnit bak to ther contre, it wald be best tym to tak ordour with the affaires of the kingdome, conform to his Maiesteis defyre, with the concurrence

of ſa many of the counſaill as his Maieſte had found maiſt faithfull and leaſt factious.

Bot to tak vpon us the haill bourthen, we thocht it not beſt ; in reſpect that has bene alwayes the chief cauſe of the wrak of Scotis kingis, ſpecially of all his troubles, in laying the haill bourthen of his affaires vpon any ane or twa ; wha maiſt commownly, for gredines and ambition, abuſes gud princes ; then few or nane dar controill them, for fear of ther gret autorite and credit.

The chanceler being advertiſt of his Maieſteis miſcontentement and diſpleſour, as ſaid is, maid his preparatywe till part off the contre ; and cauſed it to com vnto his Maieſteis eares, that he ſuld faill and bring the Quen with him ; and that they wer all bot ſnaffellers that was with hir. And forget not till anoint the handis of ſome that wer famylier with his Maieſte, to interpret this his enterpryſe ſa weill, that it pat all vther byganes in forgetfulneſſe. And be litle and litle to inſourm his Maieſte ſa weall of the ſaid voyage, and of the gret charges that he maid vpon a faire and ſwyft failing ſchip, that his Maieſte was moued to tak the voyage him ſelf, and to faill in the ſame ſchip with the chancelair, with gret ſecreſie and ſhort preparation ; making na man preuy therto bot ſa many as the chanceler pleaſit, and ſic as had bene vpon his faction of before. He had alſo hard a nynckling of a word, how that his Maieſte, in the tym of his hauy diſpleaſour, had ſend vnto my brother and me to tak the bourden of his affaires ; wherat he had a gret hid invy and diſpyt, and was the cauſe why his Maieſte maid me not preuy to his voyage in Denmark ; and was very miſcontent when his Maieſte had apponted my brother Sir Robert to be left vicechanceler, to conuene the counſaill in his Maieſteis abſens, to hald hand with

the Duc of Lenox, my Lordis Hammiltoun, Bodowell, and vther noblemen, with the officers of the crown, to reull the contre in his Maiesteis abfence.

Thre vther fchippis failed with his Maieste, wherin was the Justice Clark, Carmychell, the prouest of Lincowden, Willyem Keith, George Hum, James Sandelandis, and his mefter almowfer, with all his hynes ordinary feruandis. The wether was rough aneugh, for it was in the beginning of wynter; bot the last day was fa extream stormy that they wer all in gret danger. Bot his Maieste landit that fame nycht at in Noroway, wher the Quen was abyding the wynd; and wher he accomplifit his mariage in perfone, bot culd not be perfuadit to retourn in Scotland that winter, be raifoun of the raging fees and storme that he had fusteanit a litle of before.

The Quen and confaill of Denmark, being aduertist that his Maieste was to abyd all that winter at , fend and requested him to com to Denmark. Wher he past be land, with the Quen his new bryd; and behaued him felf honorably and liberally be the way, and at the court of Denmark, fa lang as he tareid ther.

P. 197. Bot the company that wer with his Maieste held him in gret fufcherie, to agre ther continuall ftryf, pryd and partialites. The Erle Mar-
chall, be raifoun that he was ane ancien erle, and had bene employed in that honorable commiffion, thocht to haue the first place nyxt vnto his Maieste, fa lang as he was ther. The chancelair, be raifoun of his office, wald nedis haue the preeminence; lykwayes betwen the constable of Dunde, and my L. Dingwall, for the first place; betwen the chancelar and the Justice Clark. Bot George Hum fchot out quyety Will-
yem Keith, fra his office of master of the garderob. At lenth the hail

wair deuydit into twa factiōns; the ane for the Erle Marchall, and thother for the chanceler, wha was the starker, because the King tok his part. Sa that the chancelair tryumphed, and deuyfed, being yet in Denmark, many refourmations to be maid, and new fourmes and fassions to be fet fordwart at his Maiesteis hamecommynge; as to haue na preuy confaill bot the chekker, and the nobilite to be debarrit therfra; and findre of the lordis of fessio to be put out, and others plaicit in ther rowmes, And caused pen ane proclamation, quhilk was send hame to be proclamed before his Maiesteis retournyng, that nane of the nobilite fuld com to court on being sent for, and then to bring with them sex perfones and na ma; lykwais euery barron to bring bot four. And also was myndit that na knychtis fuld be maid at the Quenis coronation, bot sic as wer of worthy estymation, be honorable behauiour other in the warres, or that had bene employed ambassadours towardis vther princes. Lykwais it was deuyfed, to put in ward sic as had bene vnreuly and inobedient during his Maiesteis absence; as the Erle Bodowell, the lord Hum, and dyuers borderers and hyland men.

The nyxt spring, as said is, ther Maiesteis cam hame and landit at Leith, weill accompanied; with the admyrell of Denmark and dyuers of the confaill, and many other gentilmen, wha all his Maieste traited honnorable; and efter the coronation of the Quen, rewardit them princely, with ma then tuelf golden cheigngeis, and many medallis of gold with his Maiesteis picture.

His Maieste, at his landing, had send for me to bear them company; quhilk I did vntill ther parting, to his hynes contentement. In the mean tym, the Erle of Worcester was send heir ambassadour from England, to welcom and congratulat baith ther Maiesteis, with some presentis vnto the Quenis Maieste. Whom his Maieste commandit me

to enterteny all the tym of his heir being; and at his parting, presented him with a riche ring of feuen gret dyamontis, that he parted weill satisfified, and sa did all his company.

It pleasit his Maieste, at leaser, to declair vnto me his haill voyage, and proceadingis during his absence; and said that he wald that I had bene sent myn allane ambassadour in Denmark, in steid of the Erle Marchall and the tua that wer junit with him, he was sa euell infourmed of the said erle. I said, that I vnderstode that the Erle Marchall, for his awen part, had behaued him self very honnorably and discretly, as the admyrall of Denmark, Stean Braue, and dyuers of ther company had infourmed me. Alwais, his Maieste beleued the contrary for the tym, and said farther vnto me, that he had greter fascherie to kepe gud reull and ordour amang the few company that wer with him in Denmark, then had my brother Sir Robert to reull and kep quyetnes in all Scotland during his absence. Quhilk prayse my brother deserued indede; for he had sic fauour and credit with the nobilite and barrons and bourrowes, that they folowed his aduyse, and beleued that he wald not say bot the trewth in his Maiesteis name; and again, that he wald not hyd ther quyet behauour from his Maieste at his hamecommynge.

P. 198. Bot the chanceler invyed my brother for the gret oppinion that his Maieste had of him, notwithstanding that he was a speciall instrument to bring the chanceler in court with his Maieste, first when his hynes past to his liberte at Santandrowes, and efterwart to get him the office to kepe the gret seall, and fyn to be chanceler in effect. The chanceler remembrit also of his Maiesteis deliberation, before his passing to Denmark, when he was miscontent with the chanceler, what derection he send be the crownell Stuart to my brother and me. Quhilk the chan-

celler now went about to preuent, and tok occasiō to callomniat my brother in his absēce, because my brother was sent for to vefit his wyf, lying in Brunteland at the point of death, in the mean tym that ther was ado with his office, to fournice some litle neceffaires for the strangers. The chanceler tald his Maieſte, that he vfed euery Sater-day ſa to do, during his Maieſteis absēce, and taried ther thre or four dayes, neglecting that way the commown affaires of the contre; and that it was the clark of the register, Sanders Hay, that had done all the gud offices quhilkis wer allegit that Sir Robert had done; and kendled ſa vp the Kingis anger againſt Sir Robert, that he boiſted till ward him, and tak his office fra him, ſex dayes efter that ſa gret ruſe was made of his fecfull ſeruice. Sa euell handled ar oft tymes gud princes and trew ſaruandis, be crafty callomnies. Bot his Maieſte repented ſchone this ſodane anger, being richtly infourmed, and converted the ſame againſt the ſaid chanceler vpon a nother occasiō.

Ther was emulation betwen the conſaill and the chamber; the conſaill complenyng, that the chamber wer the deuyls of euery wrang that was done, be cauſing his Maieſte ſubſcrywe findre hurtfull ſignatours and commiſſions; and gat paſt for them ſelues and ther frendis, the beſt and maiſt proffitable caſualites. They again wald other haue had the maiſt part of the conſaill at ther deuotion, or elis chengit and others mair frendly for them placit in ther rowmes. Wherupon the conſaill conſulted, and concludit together to caſt the chamber; yet ane of the conſaill that had ſome gret turn to be ſped, diſcouerit the enterpryſe of the reſt to the chamber; wha having greteſt credit with his Maieſte, pat the chanceler ſchone out of conceat. Sa that at his firſt commyng to ſpeak with his Maieſte, he rebuted him very ſourly; and

leaving him, tok me be the hand, faying, "I am the worſt handled prince in the warld, as I fall ſchaw yow the morn; for now when I go to bed, I haue na will to enter vpon ſa melancolyk purpoſes ſa lait. Therfor fend for your brother, and at his commyng, I fall declair vnto yow baith mair of my mynd. I can not forget a faying of yours, that it is the greteſt wyell in the warld to be trew." At my brothers commyng, we fand that the only cauſe was, that the chanceler and ſome with him wald haue wraked his Maieſteis treweſt myngnons; quhilk my brother tok vp betwen them incontinent, to his Maieſteis gret contentement; and the haill blame was layed vpon him that had oppenit vp the matter to the chamber.

P. 199. Efter the corownation of the Quenis Maieſte, and banketting and rewarding of the ſtrangers, they retournit hame weall contented. Ther was another convention apponted, for taking ordour with the affaires of the contre, to the quhilk many noblemen and barrons wer wreten for; bot very few obeyed the ſaid wretengis, or wald com neir the court, becauſe when they wer firſt wreten for to the Quenis corownation, they thocht not them ſelues weill vſed. For hall, chamber, and all durris wer ſa ſtraitly and indiſcretly keped, that they culd get na entre; therfor many of them returnit malcontent to ther houſes. Nor na man was appointed to welcom them, and to direct them, except ſa many as wer maid knyghtis; quhilk was the cauſe that ſa few cam again to court, the nyxt tym that they wer wreten for. For they that had bene laitly in Denmark with his Maieſte, thocht to retean him and the haill gouernement in ther handis, and had geuen his Maieſte conſaill, not to beouer famylier nor of ouer eaſy acces; nanetill enter in his chamber, bot ſamany as wer gentilmen of his chamber, with the chanceler and

some of the confaill ; and wer not content to haue the only acces, and haill handling at all other tymes, bot euen also at thir conventions, they occupied continually his Maiesteis ear in prefens of the haill affemle, to let ther gret credit be seane, to be futed and buddit be sic as had to do with the prince. Nane of them all had mair occasions to occupy his Maiesteis ear, then I had at that tym. Yet when it wald please his Maieste to call vpon me, to know how euery stranger was traied and contented, I wald geue his Maieste a schort answer, and with a gret reuerence reteir and draw a fyd. Quhilk was persauit be some of the nobillite and barrons, that wer com to the said convention. In the quhilk, findre necessary reformationis wer intendit, bot nathing performed ; quhilk was the mair spoken of, because euery man hoped to se a fattelit estait at his Maiesteis hamcommynge ; and with the greter assurance, be raisoun of his Maiesteis promyse, maid publicly in the hye kirk of Edenbrough, to be a new man, and till tak vp another kynd of cair and doing in his awen persone, then had bene seane vsed of before. Quhilk certainly his Maieste was very willing to put in execution, bot, alaice, he lakit help and assistance. For sic as he reposed maist vpon, had na farther cair of his affaires nor as they mycht best serue to ther awen particulair proffit and aduancement to sic ambitious markis as they schot at ; making his Maieste in the mean tym beleue that all was weall rewled, and ordorit at wiffis. The contrary being to manifest, moued me to present vnto his Maieste, at dyuers tymes, some memorialis and informations anent his estait and gouernement. The maist part wherof I had set doun in wret, efter that the crownell Stuart had brocht commissioun from his Maieste vnto my brother Sir Robert and me, before his hynes failing to bring hame the Quen,

during the tym that he was dolorous in Craigmillair, and miscontent with the chancelair, and sic of his confaill as had bene henderers of his mariage ; and had willit my said brother and me to sit down and ad-uyse vpon some gud reules, for the establisshing of gud ordour in his contre.

P. 200. “ Sir, your hyenes happy hamecommynge has gretly reioised your haill subiectis. Your expectation has bene gret euer sen your birth, baith far and neir. Your publik promyse, to tak vpon you a mair kingly cair sen your retourning, throw greter experience, hes augmented ther gud hope of a gracious gouernement. Your religion, pure and clean, your zeall to godlynes and iustice, your chaist and sincere lyf, your promptitud to suppress rebellions when they aryse, ravisses the hartis of the maist part of your subiectis, to loue you and esteame you the best King that hes bene thir many yeares in this realm. And yet they all maruell with stupifak myndis, to se your affaires sa vnkannely handled ; complenyng hauely that your contre was never in greter difordour and distres, the kirk sa euell content, your hause sa euell at point, the nobilite sa deuydit, the barrons in greter pouertie, and the commons mair opprest, nor never ma taxations raised, to the vtilite rathest of priuat personnes, ma parlementis halden, monyer lawes casten lowis and broken, your proclamations and missyues les obeid, and mourther and bludshedding mair increffit, sen your hynes hamecommynge and publik promyse, then it was during your absens.

“ Therefore, fir, as in ane parrelous storm vpon the see, or till flanche fodane tane fyre vpon the land, euery mans help is requisit and acceptable ; sa I hope your hyenes clemency will confidder and geue gentill

audience, and your prudency will tak in gud part, this my dewtifull declairation and admonition; the baldlyer enterpryfed, vnder the warrant of your fauorable allowance; folowing your famylyer commandement, before your hynes passing till Denmark, that my brother and I fuld fet down the caufes of the euellis and diforders that hes bene and is, together with the metest remedies for the refourmyng and amending of the mifreull.

“Ther be thre cheif caufes of all thir euellis and difordours.

“The first concernyng Godis feruice.

“The fecond, concernyng your awen eftait, and prouifion of your houle.

“The thrid, concernyng the policy and commown weill of your contre.

“As tuiching the feruice of God, neglected be our finnes and cairlefnes in the fetting fourth of his glory, fuld be redreffit and amendit be humble repentance, amendement of lyf and gud exemple, first in your awen perfoun, vpon the quhilk euery mans ey is fixit, as the head to reull the rest of the members, with religion, iuftice, prudence, temperance, and fortitud. Cheifly be religion and iuftice haue all the beft commown wealis bene rewled. Sa that sic contrees as wanted the knowlege of trew religion, feing the gret workis that God brocht till pafs be his awen peculier people obferuyng his religion, they invented religions, trowing to imitat the Jews, fell in ydolatrie and superstition. Yet they ftraitly obferued ther faid invented religion, and caufed punifh with death sic as difpyfed or fpak againft the fame.

P. 201. “Far mair fuld your Maiefte be cairfull to fet fordwart the trew religion, and to fe the fame reuerencit and obferuit; and for that ef-

fect, fuld deuot and discret ministers be chofen, whais chriſtien lyues may preach afweill as ther doctrine; and ſic to be prouydit with ſufficient locald ſtipendis, nother ouer mekle, till entyſe them till auarice, nor ouer litle, till mak them ſa indigent as till cry out in all ther preachingis of ther pouertie; in ſic fort as they may haue na occaſion yearly to leaue ther flock, to com and mak ſut for ther lyving, with gret pain and expenſis, as they do preſently.

“Dyuers ar the cauſes of the diſordour in your court and houſe. Officers and ſeruands ar not chofen for ther qualites, bot at the inſtance of this or that frend or courteour. Then the number of all ſortis of ſeruandis ar not limitat, in placing about you ſa many as ar neidfull, bot ane extraordinary number; wheras twa ar anew in euery office; and then your hynes prudency ſalbe beſt knawen, when ye ſalbe ſean to mak gud election of meit perſones for euery occupation. For the prince is ay eſtemed to be ſemblable vnto tha ſort of ſeruandis as he lykis beſt to be about him. Mekle conſiſtis in this, to haue in court, discret, modeſt, courtes and vngredy courteours. Nothing wonnes mair the hartis of the people to the prince; for ſa lang as they ſee about him ſic perſones, they ar out of fear to be bourdenit vnmeſurably. When they ſe men that ar not gredy, importun crauers, nor prodigall ſpenders of the princes geir and ther awen, nor ſterers vp of the prince to tak mens lyues for ther landis, they ar in hop that euery man may lywe vpon his awen, and the prince alſo vpon his awen patrimony. Therefore fuld the chekker be alſo chofen of trew reſtrik men, be the princes foirſicht; wha fuld be oftymes preſent himſelf, and heir his awen comptis. For ſew dar controill or find falt with the wrang comptis of ſic officers as ar gret courteours, and in gret

fauour; quhilk I haue oft tymes fean and found falt with my felf, being vpon the chekker, to my gret hurt and difcredit.

“The caufes why the patrimonye of the crown is fa diminiffit, your hyenes predeceffours difponit mekle to the kirk, for deuotion and to noblemen and barrons, for gud feruice. And fomtymes when princes wer cairles, to preuene rebellions vpon ther mifgouernement, they wer compellit to by the affiftance of a fort, be difpofition of landis, to help to reprefs another number of vnnaturall fubiectis; quhilk ther cairfull and provydent gouernement mycht haue preuenit and efchewed.

“Alfo your Maiefte, of a noble and princely nature, difponit liberally vnto dyuers gredy and importun perfones, during your minorite, dyuers landis and rentis, quhilkis wald haue ftand in gret fteid to the entertenement of your houle; and ay heaped gift vpon gift till a fort of gredy cravers, and that be the perfuafions of fic as had your ear, and not to the beft deferuers.

P. 202. “Now the chekker being weill chofen, as faid is, and the rentmefters and ther officers that ar comptable to be trew refponfeable mean men, nother ouer gret men nor gret courteours, bot fic as men dar controill, and will not fear till offend; that all vacand benefices and cafualites be retenit in your awen handis, vntill ye fee what ye may fpaire.

“Then the beft part of the properte lyes in the hylandis, wher nother God nor the King is ferued nor obeyed. Reducing the hylandis and the ylles, as your gudfchir K. James the fift did, your rentis may be that way redoubled. For the Kingis of Scotland wer never riche, fen they left the hylandis and the ylles to duell in the lawland; for ay fen fyn ther rentis haue bene diminiffit, and ther superflow expences increffit, at the vneuenly exemple of other nations nybours.

“ Then your hynes parkis wald be pleniffit and put to proffit, quhilk wilbe found a necessary help to the halding of your house. The rest of your ftoir rowmes, lying in the far south partis, ar in sic handis that they wald not be medlit with as yet ; bot some yearly number of wethers wilbe easely granted, be them that posses presently the saidis ftoir rowmes.

“ Also the forbeden gudis that pass yearly out of Scotland, gene they were stayed and tane according to actis of parlement, wald be very profitable.

“ The best meanis to bring thir gud purposes to pass, is a princely prudent and gracious gouvernement ; quhilk is easiest brocht till pass when the prince correctis him self, before he correct his subiectis. For they wilbe schone subdewed vnto his will, when they se the same maid subiect vnto raisoun. For being subiect vnto raisoun, the prince has conkiffit him self ; the rediest meanis also to conkifs the hartis of the subiectis. Ther hartis being conkiffit, the contre is easely conkift. The contre being conkift, the prince may plant and establis gud order therintill at his pleasour.

“ Theopompe being demandit, what way a king mycht best conferue and reull his realme, answereth, in geving liberte to them that loue him to tell him the treuth. The senat of Rome, wretting vnto Trayan, excuses princes to be negligent in many thingis, not famekle for that they haue no desyre till foirsee, as because few or nane dar warn them of the treuth ; and sayes mairouer, that it belangis to gud princes rather to haue regarde to the benefit of ther contre, then to the delytis of ther persone ; and rather till folow exercises till encrease ther reputation, then ther pastym ; then to be spair in speach, and prodigall in dedis.

“ And Plutarque to the same Trayan : Gif thy regiment answer not to the expectation of thy people, thou canst not be but subject to many dangers. And sayes farther, that princes shall reule well, gif they be thankfull to the great God, patient in chances of fortune and in travel, diligent in execution, careful of their affairs and in dangers, mynd to the people, traitable to strangers, not greedy of riches, nor lovers of their own opinions and desires, the burthen of their office will be easy unto them.

P. 203. “ As God is the ruler and spirit of the world, so ought princes to reule, and to be the spirit of their country. The heaven, the earth, the sea, the planets, and all the elements, obey God's ordinance, be the strength of his continual motion and providence. So should the prince, who is God's placeholder, be continually careful, providence, and motion, cause every lieutenant, minister, magistrate, judge, officer and sheriff, keep their due course in their vocation. For the which effect, it may please your Majesty consider the nature and wrong kind of Scottish government, be an continual long corrupted custom.

“ Scotland is indeed hereditary, and a monarchy. Yet among all other monarchicall kingdomes, it is oftenest out of tune, be the fault and carelessness of princes, the unreasons and disorders of the subjects, the great rents of the nobility and their great number. Also the many great combing clanes, so ready to concur together, and to rebel for the defence of any one of their name, or to revenge the just execution of some of them, for murder, slaughter, theft, or such other crimes. Our Kings, wanting the means of fixed wages remaining in garnisons, as other monarches has, may not, at all occasions, punish and redress such wrongs and disorder ; except so many of them as, be

wisdome and vertu, had wincuft ther awen passions, oppinions and defyres, and be the same meanis, raviffit the hartis of the maist and best part of the subiectis, to assist them with hart and hand to suppress the rebels, and to punish the offenders. Sic Kingis again as command absolutly, not karing for the hartis of ther subiectis, ther proclamations wilbe outwardly obeyed with ther bodyes ; bot ther doingis will stand the prince in na steid in tym of neid, saif only to help to wrak him, Then ther is nathing mair dangerous for a Scotis K. that has not the loue of his subiectis, nor when a gret number ar convenit together ; for at sic tymes, they vse to tak sodane consultations, to put ordour to the prince and his maist familier mignons. Of thir tua sorts of Kingis, the first is mair nor a monarque, and the last less then electywe. Of the first, in Scotland, ther hes rong ouer few ; and of the last ouer many ; quhilk is cause that the contre is not yet halely conkift to the lawfull King. Quhilk is also cause, that the corrupt customes and disorder hes lested sa lang, and ar not able to be remedied, vntill it may please God send thre sic Kingis as I haue named of the best sort, granting themlanglyf ilkaneto succede efter vther. I prey God that your Maieste may begin and continow to be the first of the thre. Bot wher it apperis ye ar aduysed, be creating ma noblemen, to increase your forces, wherby it rather makis them the starker ; wheras dyuers vther princes preffit to mak them lawer and fewer, be raisoun of the auld emulation that hes lested betwen the Kingis of Scotland and ther nobilite ; the Kingis to command absolutly as fouerain monarque ; the nobles to withstand ther absolut power, sometymes be secret and indirect meanis, and oft tymes be plane resistance and force. Then the wyse, verteous and potent Kingis, wherof ther hes bene bot few, weray fouerain monarques,

and obtenit the maisterie; and the cairles, sleuthfull and semple princes, that wer gydit be mean men, wer commownly kepit captywes or flane. The gud and worthy prince tok vpon him mair or les absolut power and autorite, as he fand him self able, be assistance, substance, and alliance, or as he fand his nobilite feble, fulische, and devydit.

P. 204. "England beleues ay to be in the better estait, be schedding the bluid of ther nobilite, and debarring of them from the confaill and handling of the princes affaires. Scotland, now, contrary wyse, be spairing of the nobilite and barrons, and be making them partakers of honours and offices. For the way taking of the lyf of a nobleman or barroun, breidis ane hundreth ennemys ma or les, according to the gretnes of the clan or surname; of the quhilk nomber some will ly at the wait to be reuengit, albeit lang efter, when they se ther tym. For the nobilite being sa many, be lang euell custum, they esteam them selues to be borne confellours; and yet will not remain at court, nor vpon the confaill, without it be at conventions, or for some particulaire proffit. And gif the prince pretend to reull by them, they vse to mak sodane enterpryses against the prince and his famyliers; of the quhilk tragedies, the cronikles ar fillit and defyled. Then efter sic a violent alteration, they think them selues odious to the prince; sa that they seak commonly to be mesters ouer him fra that tym fourth, lest he fuld, when he fies his tym, tak his revenge for ther contempt.

"It is not best then to debar your nobilite from being vpon the confaill; bot grant plaice to a nomber of the wyfest of them, wherof they will schone tyre, and reteir when ther purfes begins to grow tume. And sa your ordonance fall tak effect of will, and they fall want occasion to gruge or rebell. It is meit also to won, be gud dede, part of the wor-

thyeft of your nobilite ; quhilk may be a ftay to hald the reft fra rebellion, when they will fee fa many of ther fort daily about you, and in your fauour.

“Princes ar callit pafoures be Homere, and fathers of the contre be the Romans. Nane can be anfwerable till fic honorable names, without extrem diligence and fatherly cair, to fe euery officer occupy his vocation, and ftrait accompt to be tane how they difcharge ther dewtye; rewarding weill doers and puniffing the offenders; reward and puniffement being the pillaires wherupon the commown weill ftand.

“Specially tak panes, this firft year of your mariage; for the reputation obteanit the firft year, will left lang efterwart, whither it be gud or euell.

“Be ernest and liberall to get gud intelligence, afweill of the eftait of contrees nybours, as of your awen ; of the greifis of your fubiectis, and parcialites and feadis that fallis fourth; quhilk will open your eyn to fe findre outgaitis in matters of eftait.

“Geue famylier acces to your nobilite and barrons, when they com; cheifly to all fic as ar wreten for to your conventions.

“Geue open audience, anes euery owk at leaft, to riche and pure, refaving ther fupplikations and complantis, and with ftrait command to the confaill and mefter of requestis, to geue them anfwer with fodane difpafche.

“Caufe reform the superfluite of clothing and banketing, afweill be your awen exemple as be commandement.

P. 205. “Now fupponyng your Maieftie to be ripe fruit, and na mair gren, I hope that your dear bocht experience hes maid you apt enough to receaue all profitable impreffions, prefented vnto you be your faithfull

prouen faruantis ; and not to commit sa easely again your wechty charge to any ane, twa or thre ; quhilk ye haue sean to haue alwais fshot at ther awen markis, and not yours, bot to mak them felues gret and riche, parelling your estait to bring ther awen turnis to pafs ; quhilk kynd of doing, be some cairles princes, caused the poet Du Bellay to cry out—

*O trois et quatre fois malheureux la terre
Dont le prince ne void que par les yeux dautrui,
N'entend que par ceux qui respondent pour luy,
Aveugle, fourd, et muet, plus qui n'est vne pierre.*

“Na man will think it strange that, during your yong yeares, ye haue bene preffit and persuadit to lay the bourthen of affaires aff your self, vpon vthers wha gredely coueted that weichty charge abone ther capacite, wanting cair, knowlege, credit, and abilite, to bear it out. Bot now euery man will marvell, gif ye suld do it in your perfyt age ; thinking that your prignant engyn, excellent memory, and hurtfull experiences, mon compell you to exerse the office of a K. in your awen persone. For wherof hes procedit sa many attemptatis, sa mony enterpryses, sa many takingis of your Maiesteis persone, sa many alterations and chengementis of court, consellouris, faruandis and lawes, bot be geving the charge and keping of your scheep and subiectis to certane ambitious ravinous wolves ; wha cessit not to cheifs and bring in court, for ther assistance, sic as they knew to be of ther awen qualites ; that they mycht concure togither, first, how to put out of your fauour, and debar fra your ear, all sic honest trew personnes as wald opon

againſt ther parnicious proceedingis, that your Maieſte mycht nother ſee nor vnderſtand bot be ther eyn and eares. Then all was weall reuled and ordorit, calm and faire wether, for a very few dayes. Your Maieſte can weill anough remember, how oft I haue, for my part, foirwarnit you of the ſtormes that wer to fall out, throw the miſbehauour of ſic insolent, ſic inconstant, ſic ſcornfull and ſic partiall perſonnes, as haue ofteſt poſſeſt your ear, and caried the vog in your court; and what vantage I obteanit therby, your Maieſte knawes. Yet I had this confort, that your Maieſte confeſſit that I had ſchawen you the verite; bot the ſaid confeſſion was ay behind the tym, with ouer lait repentance.

“Heir your Maieſte may reproche me of inconstant conſelis, becauſe an year efter your retournyng fra Denmark, I ſchew yow that your ſubiectis wer not ſatiſfied of ther expectation, nor of your public promyſe. Preing your Maieſte yet to begin, and other reull as appertenth a richt king, only for a year, or elis to ſubmit the haill bourthen of your office to ſic a number as I fuld name, only for ane year. In doing any of thir twa, I ſaid I fuld bind and oblyſe my ſelf, that your eſtait fuld be ſufficiently ſatteled at the yeares end; or elis for my penaltie to be put in priſoun, or to be perpetually baniſſit out of Scotland.

P. 206. “Then it pleaſed your Maieſte to demande of me, the maner that I wald wiſs yow to reull as a King. Wherunto I maid anſwer, that it wald not ſet me, nor nane in Scotland, to ſchaw you the dewty of a king, quhilk ye culd do better and declair better then any of your conſaill, gif ye pleiſit to tak the panes bot only for a year to do your awen office your ſelf. In ſa doing, I ſupponit that before the end of the ſaid year, ther fuld enſew ſic proffitable effectis, that ye fuld think the gouernement plaiſant and na mair painfull. Be the quhilk meanes alſo

your Maieſte ſuld eſchew the reproche of the poet Paucue in ane of his verſes, ſaying in the Frenche—

Je hay, dit il, entre les hommes ceux

Qui ſont eſpris d'un vouloir pareſſeux,

Et touſiours ſemblent, ſ'on ſ'y fye,

Practiquer l'art de la philoſophie.

Italien.

Chi non fa quel che deue, quel ch'aspetta non receue.

Spanis.

Si fueras rigido par razon, a muchos regiras.

“ In four thingis a prince ſchoneſt wrakis him ſelf.

“ To be cairles and fleuthfull in his affaires.

“ To forſaik the ſeur counſell of his trew ſaruandis.

“ To geue largely vnto vnthankfull flatterers.

“ And to ſpend abone his rentis.

“ To retourn again to the purpoſ. It pleaſed your Maieſte to inquire, for the ſecond point, that mycht beſt ſatle your eſtate within the year. I ſaid, to ſubmit the haill bourthen, for a year, to a number of ſic as I ſuld name, with the beſt inclynit of your awen counſaill. To that your Maieſte agreed ; bot when I cam mair in particulaire, your Maieſtie thoct it ouer mekle to be ſa far addicted, and ſa entierly ſubmitted. Then I requested your Maieſte to do the firſt, and do your awen office.

“ Yet not lang efter, your Maieſte ſubmitted your ſelf halely and entierly to aucht perſonnes, callit Octaviens; and tald me how that ye had folowed my oppinion therintill, and had ſubmitted ſimpliciter for your tym to the ſaidis aucht perſonnes. I replyed, that I ſpak bot for ane year, and that I wald haue named ſome of the ſaid number, bot not all.”

They wer wyſe men, learnit and politik, the vnmeater that they wer chefers of them ſelues; yet they began to do better then any had done before them. Bot they continowed not, bot deuydit amang them ſelues, efter that they had devydit the offices of the crown, to euery man ane; wheras at the firſt, they had geuen fourthe that they ſuld plant mean reſponceable men in the ſaidis offices, and they all to be reſtriēt controllouris of the ſaidis officers. Sa that many began to gruge againſt them, ſeing them becom ſa ſchone rich, and ther gret bakis, the haill ſubieētis and his Maieſteis awen domeſtikis to folow and depend vpon them, and Maieſte to paſs throw the ſtretis with thre or four, as foirſaiken, becauſe nane hoped any mair for reward at his hynes handis, bot ſa mekle as mycht be had for ſeruyng and depending vpon the ſaidis aucht lordis.

P. 207. They wer alſo ſa hated and enuyed, that a rebellion was raiſed in Edenbrough againſt them in his Maieſteis preſens, partly for the cauſes ſpecified, and alſo for ſuſpition of papiftre. Wherby they fled aff the town, and ſen ſyn wald not tak vpon them the haill gouernement, bot wer content to be junit with a number of noblemen and vthers of the confell, to the number of xxiiij. Bot the maiſt part of the noblemen taried not, bot cam quhen they wer writen for to the conventions, as they wer wont; ſa all this new deuyce tournit to the auld, ſicut antea.

Ye haue hard how that his Maieſte was aduſed, at his retournyng from Denmark, to put in ward ſic as wer geuen vp to haue bene maiſt vnreuly during his abſens; bot being retournit, euen ſome of them that had deuſed the ſaid warding, wer the firſt warners of them that wer to be wardit; not without ſome proffit for ther reward, to the gret diſcontentement of ſome of ther affociatis. Quhilk lowſed the band that was maid in Denmark be the chanceler and his faction, and cauſed euery ane of that number to ga findre and do for them ſelues. Sa that all ther platis and deuſes turnit to wynd and vanite.

A mynt was maid to chenge ſome of the ſeſſion, bot ther was na concurrence. The chekker continowed a whyll to be the only confell, and the nobilitie when they cam, wer halden at the dur of that conſaill. Of the quhilk number I being ane, tok occaſion to ſay vnto his Maieſte, that it culd do na harm to cauſe them com in, ſeing they wer gret men, as my L. Hammiltoun, My L. Maxuell, and a number of vthers. Bot his Maieſte, of his awen motyue and naturell, was not chengeable fra the ordour layed down be them that he lyked and reposed vpon. Yet I paſt fourth of the chamber, and tald the noblemen that his Maieſte was vpon the ordoring of his rentis and daly expences, and thocht ſchame that they ſuld ſe the ſober eſtate therof; quhilk was cauſe that they wer ſufferit to ſtand without. This litle excuſe ſatiſfied them in a maner; bot this ordour was alſo ſchon alterit.

Anent the reducing of the hylandis and ylls; thre of the principales, as Maclain, Maconell and Donald Gorm, wer ſubtilly drawen to the court be the chanceler, wha vnderſtod of ther partialites, and wer euery ane put in hope to get his hand beyond his ennemy. Bot at ther commyng, they wer all thre wardit in the caſtell of Edenbrough, to

ther gret astoniffement ; for they had committed sic foull mourthours vnder traift, that it wer horrible to rehers. Being therfore in fear of ther lyues, they delt largely of ther euell won gold to sic as had credit. Neuertheles they wer put to ane asyfe, and convict of traifoun, and for many vther foull crymes ; quhilk caufed them redouble ther giftis to the gyders ; bot not to the King, in sic fort as it was agreed betwen his Maiefte and them, that they fuld geue plegis to pay yearly vnto his Maiefte tuenty thowfand markis, for the landis of the properte wherof they had na fecurete, and of the quhilk they had of yearly rent, as was geuen in to the chekker, twa hundreth thowfand and fyfty thowfand markis. This was all geuen them quyt for tuenty thowfand. And wheras of before they had na richt nor fecurete bot a forceable poffeffion, they obteanit fure infeftementis, be chartour, feafing and the gret feall, and a remiffion of ther foull crymes. And fchortly efterwart, ther plegis that wer kepit in the Blaknes wer fet to liberte, for geving v^m. markis to ane of his Maiefteis chamber ; and fa the xx^m. markis wer tint and never payed.

P. 208. Heir was a gud prince euell vfed and abufed, and the half of his rentis robbit fra him ; and his God offendit, for fpairing to do iuftice vpon sic bludy tarrantis, that acknawlegit nether God nor the King.

I had geuen his Maiefte aduyfe to pafs him felf to the ylles and big a fort, and to remain ther twa yeares, and promysed to ga with him ; fchawing his hynes how that the Kingis of Scotland wer never riche fen they left the hylandis, to duell in the law landis, bot haue euer fen fyn deminiffit ther rentis, and increffit ther superflew expences in cheir and clothing, at the uneuenly exemple in folowing the customes of vther nations nybours. Quhilk his Maiefte vnderftod to be maift trew, and

was myndit to haue folowed the said aduyfe ; bot all was alterit be the formair misfreull.

Matters proceeding in this sort, many began to tyn hope of amendement, or to se schortly sic a reformation as was promysed and that they loked for ; lamenting to se a gud K. sa euell handled, and that him self fuld ouerse the same, and suffer euery thing to pass at the pleasure of them that wer about him.

About this tym his Maieste send for me, and at my commyng to Facland, wher the court remanit for the sommer seasoun, it plaist his hynes to tell me, how that at his commyng out of Denmark he had promysed to the Quen and Confell ther, to place about the Quenis Maieste his bedfallow gud and discret company ; quhilk he had left ouer lang ondone, till at lenth he aduyfed with him self that I wald be metest ; willing me not to refuse the just calling of my prince. Wherin I mycht serue as in ane lawfull vocation ; because they that sut for seruice in court or any office, dois it for ther awen proffit ; bot they ar mair profitable for princes, that ar socht and chosen for ther qualites. “ I knaw that ye wald fayn lyue at hame in your house with contentement of mynd ; bot ye knaw that a man is not born for him self only, bot also for the weall of his prince and contre ; and wheras your continowall vnwating wilbe coistly and chargeable to yow, and henderfome to your awen affaires at hame, I fall ordane sufficient enterthenement for your present releif, and recompence for this and your formair faithfull seruice.”

I answerit that, as his Maisteis maist humble saruant and subiect, I neuer refused till obey his commandement ; and fuld be his direction do my vtter deligens to satisfie his hynes expectation. Then it pleaseth

him to tell me, how that nane of his confaill, nor chamber, nor na man was maid preuy to this purpos, bot a only man ; and that the Quen had gottin word of it, and fupponit that I was to be put ther to infourm her richtly of the eftait of the contre, and anent hir behauour to his Maieſte, and to euery nobleman and lady conform to ther rankis and conditions, and to be hir keper.

Now his Maieſte tok occaſion to enter in purpos with me openly at the table, and therupon ſchew vnto the Quen, how that ſche and all hir nation wer addetted vnto me, for the continowall gud will and report that I maid of that nation ; and alſo how that I had ſean many
P. 209. contrees, and was a man of ſa gret experience, that baith he and ſche mycht learn at me findre thingis proffitable for ther weill, and ſtanding of ther eftait ; and that the Quen his mother fand hir ſelf mekle releaued be my converſation, and ſeruice of importance, aſweill heir at hame as when I was employed be hir in other contrees. This far his Maieſte ſaid abone my deſeruingis, to ſet me out, and to cauſe hir Maieſte tak the better lyking of me. Wherunto the Quen ſchew na gret contenance, bot tok cauldly with me ; when, efter denner it pleaſed his Maieſte to preſent me vnto hir, to be hir hynes confellour and gentleman of hir chamber. Some dayes efter, hir Maieſte aſkit at me gif I was ordonit to be hir keper. I anſwerit, that hir Maieſte was knawen to be diſcendit of ſa noble and princely parentis, and ſa weill brocht vp, that ſche nedit na keper, albeit hir dignite requyred to be honorable ſeruit with men and wemen, baith yong and auld, in findre occupations. Then ſche ſaid that I was euell done to ; and how that at the firſt, when ſche was yet yngnorant of euery mans qualites, ſome indiſcret enuyers wald haue put me in hir diffauour. I ſaid that I was put in

hir seruice to instruct sic indiscret perfoncs, and also to geue them gud exemple, how to behaue them selues dewtifully and reuerently vnto hir Maieste, and to hald them a bak; and that way to kep hir from ther raschnes and importunite. At lenth hir Maieste apperit to be weill content with my seruice; wher I spendit yeares; keping sometymes the consaill dayes, and sometymes affisting vpon the chekker, when ther Maiesteis wer togither; bot when they wer findre, I awated only vpon the Quen.

About this tym, many witches wer tane in Lowdien, wha deponit of some [. . .] maid be the Erle Bodowell, as they allegit, against his Maiesteis persone. Quhilk commyng to the said erlis earis, he entred in ward within the castell of Edenbrouch, desyring to be tryed; alleging that the deuell, wha was a lyer from the begynning, nor yet his sworn witches, aucht not to be credited. Specially ane renowned midwyf callit Anny Sampfoun, affirmed that sche, in company with nyn vthers witches, being conuenit in the nycht besyd Prestounpannes, the deuell ther maister being present standing in the midis of them; ther a body of wax schaipen and maid be the said Anny Sampfoun, wrappit within a lynnyng claith, was first delyuerit to the deuell; quhilk efter he had pronuncit his verde, delyuerit the said pietour to Anny Sampfoun, and sche to hir nyxt marrow, and sa euery ane round about, faying, this is K. James the sext, ordonit to be consumed at the instance of a noble man Francis Erle Bodowell. Efterwart again, at ther meting be nycht in the kirk of Northberick, wher the deuell, cled in a blak gown with a blak hat vpon his head, preachit vnto a gret number of them out of the pulpit, having lyk leicht candelis rond about him. The effect of his langage was till knaw, what skaith they had

done, whow many they had won to ther oppinion sen ther laft meting, what fucces the melting of the piētour had tane, and fic vain toyes. And becaufe ane auld fely pure plowman, callit Grey Meill, chancit to fay that “nathing ailit the King yet, God be thankit,” the deuell gaif him a gret blaw. Then dyuers amang them enterit in a raifonyng, maruelling that all ther deuellerie culd do na harm to the K. as it did till others dyuers. The deuell anfwerit, “Il eft vn home de Dieu.” And certanly he is a man of God, and dois na wrang wittingly, bot is inclynit to all godlynes, juftice, and vertu, therefore God hes preferued

P. 210. him in the midis of many dangers. Now efter that the deuell had endit his admonitions, he cam down out of the pulpit, and caufed all the company to com and kifs his ers, quhilk they faid was cauld lyk yce; his body was hard lyk yrn, as they thocht that handled him; his faice was terrible, his noife lyk the bek of ane egle, gret bournyng eyn; his handis and legis wer herry, with clawes vpon his handis and feit lyk the griffon, and fpak with a how voice.

The trikis and tragidie that he played them, amang fa many men and wemen in this contre, wald hardly get credit be the pofterite; wherof Mefter James Carmichell minifter of Haddingtoun has ther hiftory and haill depositions. Amang vther thingis, fome of them fchew how that ther was ane weftland man, callit Riche Grame, wha had ane familier fpirit; the quhilk Riche, they faid, culd baith do and tell many thingis, cheifly againft the Erle Bodowell. Wherupon the faid Riche Grame was apprehendit and brocht till Edenbrough; wha being exemed before his Maieftie, I being prefent, granted that he had ane famylier fprit that fchew him findre thingis. Bot he denyed that he was a witch, or had any frequentation with them. Bot when it was an-

fwereit to him again, how that Anny Sampfoun had declaired, that he caused the Erle Bodowell addrefs him till hir; he granted that to be trew, and that the Erle Bodowell had knowlege of him be Effe Mac-kalloun and Barbery Naper, Edenbrough wemen. Wherupon he was fent for be the Erle Bodowell, wha requyred his help to caufe the Kingis Maieſte his maifter to lyk weill of him; and to that effect he gaif the faid erle ſome drog or herb, willing him at ſome convenient tym to tuiche his Maieſteis faice therwith. Quhilk being done be the faid erle, and fand him not the better, he delt again with the faid Riche, to get his Maieſte wracked, as Riche allegit; wha faid that he culd not do ſic thingis him ſelf, bot that a notable midwyf wha was a witche, callit Anny Sampfoun, culd bring any ſic purpos till paſs. This far the faid Riche Grame affirmed dyuers tymes before the conſaill. Nevertheless he was brunt, with the faid Sampfoun and findre other witches. This Riche allegit that it is certane of the fary folk, and that ſpritis may tak a fourm, and be ſean, bot not felt.

The Erle Bodowell, as I haue faid, was entrit in ward within the caſtell of Edenbrough, his Maieſte not willing to credit his deuelliſche accuſers. Bot the conſaill thocht meteſt, that he ſuld paſs his tym in other contres for a whyll, vnder ſome artycles and conditions. Bot ſome of them that wer apponted to deall with him, went about to draw commodite fra him to be his frendis; vthers that wald haue had the eſtait troublit, maid him falſe aduertifementis. Quhilk caused him tak purpos to faif him ſelf out ouer the caſtell wall, and reterit him ſelf to Caitnes; wher he was ſchortly fent for be ſic as wer malcontentis, and vthers wald haue fiſhed in dromely watters, alleging that they had maid him frendis anew in court, and that ther was a fayre enterpryſe deuyſed to

tak the K. and fley the chanceler. To this purpos, he wes easely per-
P. 211. suadit to com and mak him self head of the said enterpryse; wha not
lang efter, accompanied with James Douglas somtymes lard of Spot,
the lard of Nitherie, mefter Jhon Coluille and findre vthers, enterit in
the Kingis palice lait about supper tym, be the passage of ane auld
stable, not without secret intelligence with some that wer about his
Maieste. Sa schone as they wer all within the clofe of the palice, they
cryed, "Justice, Justice, a Bodowell, a Bodowell;" and had bene maif-
ters of the haille, wer not that James Douglas of Spot, efter that he had
tane the keyes from the porter, enterit within the porter loge to re-
leauue some of his seruandis that wer kept ther in prisoun, and had bene
examed and buted, vpon suspition of the slauchter of his gud father the
auld lard of Spot. In the quhilk doing ther was some resistance maid
be the porters, the bruit wherof raise schoner nor was the intention of
the enterprysers; quhilk was a foirwarnyng to his Maieste, the chan-
celer and vthers, to cloise and fortifie ther chamber durris, and to mak
resistance, vntill some relief cam out of the Canogait, be convoy of my
brother Sir Androw Meluille of Garvok, his Maiesteis maister houshald;
wha knew a secret passage throw the abbay kirk, and entrit be the
same in armour. Quhair of the Erle Bodowell and his company being
aduertist, stealing quyetly throw the galleries vnto the part wher they
entrit in the palice, and fled without any gret harm done, as God wald;
saif in his outganging, he chancit to meit with Jhon Schaw master
stabler to his Maieste, whom he slew together with his brother, being
in a rage that the enterpryse had failed. Bot dyuers of his company
wer apprehendit be my said brother, and be others efterwart, wha wer
all executed the nyxt day.

Ther maner of proceeding was ; first the Lard of Spot with a company tok the keyes, and maid them felues mesters of the portis of the palice. Another company wer directed to the chanceler, wha wes sitting at his supper, and my brother Sir Robert with him, and had bene tane, wer not the Lard of Spotis earnestnes to releif his saruandis. The bruit wherof caused the chanceler to fle out of his hall to his chamber, and schut the dur efter him ; sa that my said brother gat na entre, bot reterit him self in another void house, wher na body persewed him ; nether was he in any fear for him self. The Erle Bodowell, accompanied with Mester Jhon Coluille and vthers, addreffit them vnto the Quenis chamber dur, wher he supponit to find his Maieste ; bot the dur was weill deffendit be Hary Lindsay of Kilfans, hir Maiesteis maister houshald. In the mean tym, his Maieste was convoyed vp to that towr abone the said chamber, efter that the dur of hir hynes chamber had bene broken with foir hammers in dyuers partis, and that Mester Jhon Coluille had caused bring fyre to burn it vp. The dur of the chancelers chamber was manfully debaited be him self, and caused his men schut out of the windowes continowally, and throw durris ; wher Robert Scot brother to the lard of Belwery was schot throw the thy. And wer not my brother the Mester houshald, that was newly planted in the north fyd of the close, cryed to the chanceler not till schut toward that fyd, he was in danger also. Bot the chanceler tok curage when he hard his voice, and then the enterprysers fled as said is.

P. 212. At ther first entre within the palice, I was sitting at the yffin of our supper, with my L. Duc of Lenox ; wha tok his fuerd incontinent, and preffit fourth. Bot he had na company, and the plaice alredy full of vnfrendis, we wer compellit to fortifie the durris and staires, with

burdis, fourmes, and ftules, and be ſpectatoris of that ſtrange hurly burly, for the ſpaice of ane hour ; behalding with torche leicht fourth of the Dukis gallerie, ther reilling, ther rombling with halbertis, the clakking of ther colueringis and piſtolles, the duntting of melis and forehammers, and ther crying for juſtice. Now ther was a paſſage between the chancelers chamber and my L. Ducs be a ſtaire. During this frey, the chancellor cam vp the ſaid ſtaire, and deſyred entre in my Lord Ducs chamber. My L. Duc, be my aduyſe, willit him to cauſe his men debait at the nether dur ſa lang as they mycht, and offerit to reſaue him ſelf within his chamber ; quhilk the chancellor tok in ane euell part, and ſuſpected my L. Duc, and ſa returnit bak again to his awen chamber, and debait the beſt he culd, as ſaid is. My L. Duc, ſa ſchone as he ſaw company of frendis within the cloſe, paſt fourth to perſew the Erle Bodowell and his company ; bot the nycht was dark, and they tok them ſpedely to ther horſe and eſchaiped.

They being reterit, we gat entre to hir Maieſteis chamber, wher the K. was for the tym com down. Wher his Maieſte diſcourſit with me a gud ſpace of this terrible attemptat, and of his many hard fortunes. Wher I left not to tell his Maieſte, ſome of the ſpeciall cauſes of the ſaidis enterpryſes, and how that many of them mycht haue bene eſchewed and prevenit, be a prudent and cairfull gouvernement ; as may be ſufficiently marked and conſiderit be the many admonitions and formair aduertiffementis that wer maid vnto his Maieſte, before all the accidentis that chancit vnto him, and alſo in this. For, twa dayes before this enterpryſe, my Brother Sir Robert and I had gottin intelligence, that ther was ane enterpryſe ſchortly to be execut be the Erle Bodowell and his complices, againſt his Maieſte and the gyders of

court; wherof his Maieſte being aduertified, maid na accompt therof, bot was the nyxt day paſſing to the huntis to tak his paſtym. Quhilk com- myng to my brothers eares, he raife out of his bed fark allane, only in his nycht gown, and cam fourth to the vtter cloſs of the abbay, and tok his Maieſte be the brydill, (for he was alredy vpon horſbak,) to haue ſtayed him with many perſuaſions, bot all in vain. For we wer in dout whither the enterpryſe wald be execut in the feildis, or within the palice.

Efter this attemptat, his Maieſte paſt vp to the town of Edenbrough for his greter ſecurite, wher ther wer dyuers new enterpryſes maid; wherof my brother Sir Robert getting oft aduertifmentis, ſometymes to kepe his loging ſic a nycht, ſometymes to be weill accompanied ſic a nycht, as a man that had done pleſour to many, and was not hated, nor wald not be in danger, ſa that he mycht ſaif himſelf from the firſt fury of the enterpryſers. This hes bene the hard eſtait of this gud king, for laying the bourding of his affaires vpon men that wer hated, and
P. 213. envyed for ther ambition, gredines, particuliers and vengeance; wha ſa ſchone as they had atteanit ſa wechty a charge, tok only cair how to mak them ſelues ſchone riche, and maiſt commonly be the wrak of vthers, or ther ennemys; ſa blindlingis transported be ambition and gredines, that they ouerſaw baith king and commown weall; making the K. content with faire langage, and the contre miſcontent be hurtfull dedis; caring only how to diſcredit ſa many honeſt men as they knew wald diſcouer ther miſbehauour, or that wald opon againſt the ſame; quhilk I may juſtly teſtifie for my part.

Not lang efter this, a new enterpryſe was maid to mak a gret change in court, be ſome courteours amang them ſelues; when as the Meſter of

Glames was treforer, Sir George Hume maister of the garderob, my L. of Spyny gentilman of the chamber, and yong Logy also; Sir Jhon Maitland lord of Thirleftane chanceler, Sir Robert my brother treforer deput, and had the principall handling of the office be receaving and debourfing; the prouest of Linclouden collectour and Seatoun of Parbroith controllour, and Sir Richard Cocburn of Clarkingtoun secretaire, and I was ane of the preuy confaill, and gentilman of hir Maiesteis chamber. My L. Duc, my Lord of Mar, and my Lord Hume, wer drawen vpon this course, to refourm the abuffis in court, as was allegit. Ther was na gud lyking betwen the maister of Glames and my Lord of Spyny, cheifly for the fead betwen the houses of Crafford and Glames. Then my Lord of Spyny was in fa gret fauour with his Maieste, and sometymes his bedfallow, that he was worthy to be enuyed, attour the foirfaid feid. Then he was accused to haue bene a dealler with the Erle Bodowell, and was decourted for a tym. Yong Logy was eftemed to haue had gret dealing with the faid erle, and was accused and tane and wardit for the same; bot he eschaped out of a window in Daketh, be the help of a Dence gentilwoman, whom he married efterwart.

Ther was a gret fuspition betwen my L. Duc and the chanceler; for efter the lait enterpryse in the abbey, the chanceler caused cloise vp the passage with stane and lym, that was betwen his loging and my L. Duckis; wherby he gaif the Duc till vnderstand that he suspected him, quhilk was weill raclefly done be the faid chanceler. For efter that this new alteration was intendit, and callit the enterpryse maid at Dakeith, my L. Duc and my L. Hume ryding from Dakeith to Edenbrough, met the chanceler weill accompanied ryding to the court; wher the

faid lordis maid a mint to fet vpon him, as to fley him. Yet the matter was helpit, at that tym, be Allexander Hume of Northberwik and my brother, wha wer in company with the chanceler for the tym. Bot fchortly efter that, the chanceler left the court, and reterit him to his houle. And in his abfens, a gret number of faltis wer layed out againft him, and amang the reft, how that [he] had maid fa gret henderance to the Kingis mariage, wherby the Quenis Maieftie was maid his gret enemy.

The Mefter of Glames alfo wald fayne haue had my brother out of his office, to bruik the haill office of treforer his allane. Therefore the lard of Carmychell, capten of the gard, was eafely perfuadit to caufe a number of the gard, that ftod with colueringis at the yettis of the place of Daketh, to boift to fley my faid brother dyuers tymes, in his paffing in and fourth of the place of Daketh; fupponing that my brother fuld tak a fear of his lyf, and leaue the court as the chanceler had done. Bot my brother maid na accompt of ther boift, for he knew the Duc to be his frend, and that he had bot a few ennemys; therfore hanted the court ofter than he was wont to do, and cam ay weill accompanied. For they culd get nathing to lay to his charge, bot faid vnto his Maieftie that he was ouer liberall in his office to be a treforer, ouer eafy in his compositions, and ouer gentill to the horners. The Quenis Maieftie, according to hir cuftome, whenever fche vnderftandis that his Maieftie, be wrang information, is fterit vp againft any honeft faruant or fubiect, fche procures incontinent for them, and vfes gret deligence to get fure knowlege of the verite, that fche may the baldlyer fpeak in ther favour. Therefore fa fchone as hir Maieftie vnderftod that they wer deling againft Sir Robert my brother, it pleased hir to fpeak far in his fauour; declaring how that at hir firft landing in this con-

tre, his Maieſte had preſented him vnto hir, praying him to haue bene a trew ſaruant to the Quen Regent his gudame, to the Quen his mother, and to him ſelf, willing hir to think ſa of him and to vſe his gud conſaill. And alſo many of the lordis tok my brothers part, in ſic ſort as he kepit ſtill court.

When this chengement was maid, I was abſent; and at my com- myng again to the court, his Maieſte tald me of the chancelers fearfull retrait, and that he was in na danger in his company. I ſaid again, that the princes prefens ſuld be a ſaif gard, albeit it was not alwayes ſa in Scotland. It apperit that his Maieſte, be hard inſourmations, was ſomething alterit vpon the chancellor, and my Lord of Spyny, and my brother; for as the Meſter of Glames wald haue had his office, others miſlyked hym becauſe he hanted the chancelers company, and waſthocht to be his gret frend; ſa that his Maieſte was moued to think and ſpeak, that he was not meit for his office. I being preſent, anſwerit that I lamented to heir and ſee ſa gud a prince alwayes enuyronit with euell company, cauſing him ſa oft, without offence, caſt aff his maiſt ancient and faithfull ſaruandis; and that it ſuld be ſean, let men ſerue neuer ſa weill, gif it be euell interpret be ſic as had his ear, it auailed not. To this his Maieſte replyed, that he knew my brother to be a trew ſaruant, bot ouer gentill, lyberall and eaſy in his compositions, and that he ſuld neuer alter vpon him nor me. Sa that his Maieſte continowed conſtant, againſt the intention of ſome of them that wer about him.

Heir it maybe ſean, how neceſſary it is to haue gud frends beſyd the prince, and how hurtfull and dangerous it is for a courteour, when ſic as haue the prince ear ar ther ennemys. Otherwayes what ſoeuer he be that reſoſes vpon his gud ſeruice, is commounly cowped and wraked.

About this tym capten James Stuart, vmwhyll callit Erle of Arran, wha had bene lang absent euer sen the raid of Stirling, cam to the court, and spak with his Maieſte, and pretendit to haue obtenit again his office of chancelair. His Maieſte had ſtill a gud lyking of him, and wald haue been content of his company, bot others held him a bak ; and ſchortly efter that, he was ſurpryſed and flane be James Douglas of Parkheid, for the death of the Erle of Mortoun his oncle, and litle deligence maid for the reuenge therof ; many thinking ſtrange that he was left ſa lang on lywe, in reſpect of his insolent behauour when he had the court. He had wone many that wer about his Maieſte, and ſome miniſters conſented to his incommyng again to the court.

P. 215. Now the chanceler, that was decourted at the chengement maid in Dakeith, did what he culd to get his Maieſteis fauour ; quhilk he obtenit, and was brocht in again. Bot the Quenis Maieſte wald not ſe him, nor haue to do with him ; yet at lenth, be the moyen of Sir Robert Car of Sefford, wha had married his brother dochter, his drefs was maid alſo with hir Maieſte.

About this tym, ther araife gret ſtryf and diſorder in the contre be- 1591.
tween the Erles of Huntly and Murray, betwen the Erles of Caitnes and Sutherland, betwen my Lordis Hammiltoun and Angus ; for dyuers of them had maid futtis, and obtenit commiſſions, with ample preueleges ouer others landis, afweill as ouer ther awen, quhilk pat many of them in diſcord. Wherof I aduertift his Maieſte, that ordour mycht be tane theranent. Wherupon the conſaill being conuenit, they ordonit lettres to be directed in his Maieſteis name, charging them all to leaue affra hoſtilite, and to compere before the preuy conſaill at prefixt dayes.

First the Erles of Huntly and Murray comperit, being a gentleman of his name slain with a schot out of the house of Tarnaw, be therle of Murray, whom they braggit at his awen house. Baithe the parties being com stark to the court, wer commandit to keip ther logins, for eschewing of comber. Before ther compering, his Maieste was aduyfed be the chanceler and some of the chamber, what ordour fuld be metest to be tane betwen them. Then his Maieste proponit the same to the counsaill him self, to wit thre pointis; other present agreement to be maid, or warding of baith the erles, or caution to be tane of baith; then to send hame the ane, and hald the other still at court for a whill. His Maieste folowing fourth his proposition, declared first, how that the parties culd not be presently agreed, because of the het bluid of the Lard of Cluny, Gordons brother, laitly flaine. And anent warding, that the castell of Edenbrouch had anew of wardouris alredy; that the abbay was not a meit ward for noblemen. Sa that caution to be tane of them baith wald be best; and to hald them findre, to send hame the ane, and retein the other in court for a season. The chanceler was of that same oppinion, and findre vthers that vsed commonly to please them that had the cheif handling. Then his Maieste commandit me to tell my oppinion; quhilk was, that I wissit na delay bot present agreement; supponyng that the Erle of Huntly, for his Maiesteis pleafour and command, wald not refuse nor think schame to obey his prince be a present vptaking; seing he was com sa far a journey, with his wyf and haill houshald, to remain all that winter in court. At this the chancelair chekkit me up tantingly, faying that the Erle of Huntly wald tary at court all that day till the morn, and wald part na schoner; for he had promysed to the said erle that advantage vpon his ennemy; albeit, the erles intention was to haue taried

all that winter in court. The justice clark was of my oppinion, bot said that it apperit his Maieste, with the chanceler, had concludit alreedy to send Huntly hame, and let the other remane at court.

Sa fchone as the Erle of Huntly was at hame in the north, and wanting his compeditour, tryumphed and tok findre aduantages vpon the Erle of Murreys dominions, geuing the Erle of Murrey occasion to complain; bot getting na redress, reterit him from the court, and becam sa malcontent, that he tok plane part with the Erle Bodowell, wha was still vpon his enterpryses. The Erle of Huntly, aduertist that his ennemy was becom ane outlaw with the Erle Bodowell, re-
P. 216. turnit again to court, to get yet farther aduantages ouer him. Bot in the mean tym, the Lord Ogiltre trauelit to agre them; with consent of his Maieste drew the Erle of Murray to Donybirffell, to be neir hand, that ther conditions and artikles mycht be ekked or paired, at the pleasure of ther frendis. The Erle of Huntly being also maid preuy to his commyng to Donybirffell, obteanit incontinent ane commiffion, (seamyng to do his Maieste acceptable seruice,) till perfew be fyre and sword the Erle Bodowell and all his partakers. Litle wist his Maieste that he was myndit, vnder this generall, to assaile the Erle of Murray at his awen house, vnder commownyng, to fley him, as he did to the regret of many.

Bot the Lord Ogiltre tok sic a despyt, that his frend was sa flane 1592.
vnder commownyng, as he allegit, that he tok plane part with the Erle Bodowell; and sa did dyuers vthers, encuraging the said erle to assaile the Kingis Maieste within his palice of Facland; having dyuers in court, that wer famylier anough with his Maieste, vpon the said conspyracy with him, whais confaill his Maieste folowed maist. Sa that they drew him in ane hoise net, to abyde still in Facland, not-

withstanding of the many sure aduertiffementis that had been maid vnto him. Sic hes bene his Maiesteis hard fourtoun at many sic strait tymes.

The few nomber that wer faithfull and cairfull for his Maieste, gaif him confaill, efter the first aduertifement, to pass to Couper, and conuene with all possible deligence the barrons of Fyf for his deffence. Bot sic as focht his wrak, persuadit him to tary and delay; alleging that they had sure aduertiffement, that the Erle Bodowell wald not com out of Lowdien till sic a day; quhilk wald haue bene twa dayes langer, and behind the day quhilk he keped, and cam till Facland twa dayes fchoner. This aduyse was geuen, that his Maieste mycht be surprysed, before he culd other enter within the tour of Facland, or be provydit with any forces to deffend him. And because they knew my brother and me to be cairfull for him, they aduyfed his Maieste to send us hame to our houses, that same nycht that we vnderstod the Erle Bodowell wald be ther, and had sa tald his Maieste; bot he beleued his abusers better. Bot we gaif his Maieste confaill to ryd quyetly to Banbriech, and mak na man preuy therto bot ane, and let it appeir that he was still in Facland secretly within the tour; then at ther commyng, missing his Maieste, they wald be discoragit, and geue they cam till persew him in Banbriech, he mycht tak a boit, and pass ouer till Angus, wher he wald haue leaser till conuene the townes of Perth and Dundee, and the contre. But this aduyse was also ouerthrowen be them thar wer vpon the contraire part.

Thus we being commandit be his Maieste to ryd hame and to warn the contre incaice he wer besegit within the tour, euery ane raid hame. My brother that same nycht, be the way, was aduertist

be ane of the Erle Bodowelis awen company, how that he was al-
redy in Fyf, and wald be in Facland about supper tym; vpon the
quhilk aduertifment, he fend bak a gentelman of his callit Robert
Athlek, to fchaw his Maieſte and to request him to enter in dew
tym within the tour. When the ſaid Robert declaired the matter
vnto his Maieſte, they all leuch at him and ſcorned him, and ſaid
that he was bot a full. The ſaid Robert, ryding bak again, mal-
content to haueben ſa mocked, met the Erle Bodowel and his company
vpon the heicht of the Lommondis, when it was elis dark nycht, and

P. 217. turnit incontinent as gif he had bene an of thers, and vſed gret deli-
gence to be firſt at his Maieſte; entring within the palice of Facland,
cloſed the ȝetis him ſelf, and cryed continowally to cauſe his Maieſte en-
ter within the tour; wha beleued him at lenth, and mocked him na mair.

The Erle Bodowell at his commyng had pittardis to brek vp ȝetis
and durris. It was allegit that ſome of them that ſchot out of the
tour for his Maieſteis deffence, had chargit ther culveringis only
with paiper; bot ſome of his Maieſteis houſhald officers ſchot out
bouletis, quhilk gaue the erle and his company a gret ſkar. Alſo his
entring within the tour before he was ſuppryſed, ſupponyng that the
contre wald gather; the ſaid erle and his company reterit and fled,
without any folowing efter them, wher a few number mycht haue
eaſely ouertane and ouerthrawn them. That ſame nycht I lay in my
butis abone the bed, awating vpon word out of Facland, wher ther was
ane left to that effect; at whais bakcomming, I with other frendis and
nybours raid to conuene the contre at Couper, to haue reſcued his
Maieſte. To the quhilk his Maieſte fend, and aduertift us that the
erle and his company wer fled; yet defyred the barrons and townes to
com fordwart to Facland, as they did to the number of thre thowſand

that same day at efternoon. This way God delyuerit his Maieſte miraculoſly, as he had done dyuers tymes of before.

About this tym, cam to his Maieſte ane honeſt gentilman of Yreland, callit *John O'Meara*, wha maid offers of conſequence to his Maieſte. Wherof the Quen of England was incontinent aduertit, to requyre the ſaid gentilman to be delyuerit vnto hir, quhilk the maiſt part of the conſaill perſuadit his Maieſte to do. Albeit, the Juſtice Clark and my brother and I wer of the contrary oppinion; quhilk dede did gret harm to the weill of his Maieſteis affaires in England and Yreland. This I ſay with gret regret, becauſe it was ſa far againſt his Maieſteis awen mynd; and yet ſufferit to be done, becauſe the cheif ringleaders haue bene alwayes wone to the deuotion of England.

Now the Prince being borne at Stirling the *10th* day of *April* in the year *1594*, his Maieſte thocht meit to ſend ambaffadours till England, Denmark, France, and Flanders, to requyre ther ambaffadours to be ſend to the baptiſme of the Prince his firſt born ſone; the conſaill being commandit to diſern vpon ſic as wer meteft to be ſend for that meſſage, as they did. Yet ſic as procured to be ſend, obteanit the commiſſion, albeit ſome of them wer vnmeit for that erand; as Sir Willyeam Keith, becauſe he culd nether ſpeak French, Latin nor Flemyng; the lard of Eaſter Weames procured to cary the commiſſion to France, and alſo to England, becauſe he was to paſs ther for to ſut his awen affaires, being the K. of France ſaruand. Bot Meſter Peter Yong ſped beſt, wha was ſend to Denmark, and to the Dukis of Mekelbourg and Brunſwick, for he gat thre fair cheignæis. Bot the K. of France nor the Quen of England gaif nathing; quhilk ther dewty had cauſed them to do, gif ambaffadouris expreſs had bene ſend vnto them.

P. 218. Nether fend the K. of [France] any ambaffadour heir at that tym; quhilk the Quen of England was anes at the first myndit to do the lyk, vntill that fche was aduertist be hir ambaffadour in France, that the K. wald fend nane. Then very lait fche fend the Erle of Suffix, to let us think that fche wald be ay a redy frend, when France wald refuse and ly abak. On the vther part, the Ducs of Mekelburgh and Brunfwik wer discontent, that they wer fa far difpyfed as not to fend them a man exprefs to ilk ane of them. A fpeciall day was apponted for the folemniffing of the faid baptesme. The ambaffadours of Denmark and Dutcheland arryued almaiſt togither. His Maieſte had fend for me of before, to be ther at ther landing, to reſaue them, and to enter-teny them; bot the ambaffadour of Mekelbourgh and Brunfwik wald not ryd out of Leith in company with the Dence ambaffadours, when they wer convoyed vp to Edenbrough, bot wald haue a convoy a part.

A few dayes efter them, arryuit the ambaffadours of the eftaitis of the Law Contrees, to wit, Mons^r de Brederod, and Mons^r Folk, gret treforer of Holland and Zeland; wha landit at the New Heauen, wher I was weill accompanied to reſaue them, having horſe and fut mantelis in a redines to cary them vp to Edenbrough to ther logingis.

A litle before the landing of the faidis ambaffadouris, the day of the baptesme was delayed, becauſe ther was na word of any Frenche ambaffadour, nor of the Engliſ; and the Kingis chaipell in the caſtell of Stirling, quhilk was caſten down to be biggit again in a better fourm, was not yet perfourmed. Sa that the ambaffadours wer ordonit to remain in Edenbrough, till all mycht be put in gud ordour. Therefore his Maieſte appointed his meſter houſhald and my L. of Tungland my brether, togither with me, to enter-teny them vpon his hynes charges,

and also bear them company. Then efter they had taried lang in Edenbrough, and feing na apperance of any vther ambaffadours other out of France or England, we wer commandit with some vthers of the confaill to convoy them to Stirling; at quhilk tym his Maieſte maid his excuſes, that they wer ſa lang delayed in Edenbrough without any acquaintance plesour or confort. Bot they allegit that they had gret contentement of our company, quhilk his Maieſte left not to declair before the haill confaill, geving me gret thankis, alleging that I had done many gud offices, and this amang the reſt, quhilk he fuld never forget; and that he had thre other of my brether, that wer all meit for ſic matters, and for forrene affaires.

Now being in dout of the Engliſ ambaffadours commyng, the ceremony was to be ſolemniffit without langer delay. In the mean tym, ther cam word that the Erle of Suffix was vpon his journey toward Scotland, for the Quen his meſtres, on whom the action ſtayed. The day of the ſolemnite, ther was gret buſynes for ther honours and featis. That being agreed, ther was a tum chair ſet before the reſt, for the K. of France ambaffadour. The order of the banket and triumph, I leaue till others to ſet out.

P. 219. When the ambaffadours had audience of the Quenis Maieſte, I was apponted to ſtand a litle behind, and nyxt vnto hir Maieſte. To the Engliſ, Dence and Dutche ambaffadours, hir Maieſte maid anſwer hir ſelf; bot to the ambaffadours of the eſtatis, albeit hir Maieſte culd ſpeak ſeamly Frenche, yet ſche roundit in my ear to declair vnto them hir anſwer. Then euery ane of them be ordour maid ther preſentis, for the godbarne gift. The jowelis of precious ſtaines ſche reſaut in hir awen hand, and then delyuerit them vnto me, to put them again in

ther caices, and lay them vpon a table, quhilk was prepared in the midis of the chamber to lay them vpon. The Quen of Englandis had a gret schaw, in fair coipburd of filuer ouergilt cuningly wrocht, and some coupes of gold maffywe. The ambaffadours of the estaitis presented a golden buist, wherin was wreten vpon parchement, in lettres of gold, a gift of a yearly pention to the prince of fywe thowfand be year; with gret coupes of maffywe gold, twa in speciall, quhilkis wer anough for me to lift and fet down vpon the said table. I leaue till vthers to fet down ther weicht and valour; bot I fay that they wer schone melted and spendit, I mean sa many as wer of gold, quhilkis fuld haue bene keped in store to the posterite. Bot then, they that gaif aduyse to brek them had wanted ther part, as they had of the Quenis tocher.

All thir ambaffadours being dispaſched and weil rewardit, they of 1593. Denmark wer aduyſed be Meſter Jhon Lindſay of Menmure, to cauſe ſend in heir again in deligence new ambaffadours, to requyre the contract of mariage that was maid in Denmark to be fulfillit; alleging that the chancelair, wha maid it, had left out the rentis of the abbey of Domfermeling that lay beſouth the watter of Fort, fraudfully, and had tane in ſew to him ſelf all the lordſchip of Muſſelbruch. Therefore wer ſent out of Denmark twa ambaffadours, to wit, Stean Bill and Doctour Craik, on whom I was appointed to attend, and ſe them weil vſed and entertened. As they wer weil inſtructed, ſa they chancit vpon a meit tyme; for the chanceler was for the tyme decourted, and my brother was ambaffadour for his Maieſte in England. Sa the chanceler was cauſed to renunce ouer his part; and becauſe my brother Sir Robert was abſent, yong Sir Robert his ſone and I obligit us, that his part, quhilk

was a xiiij chalder of vituell, fuld be also renuncit ouer at his retourn-
yng, quhilk he did. Dyuers vthers that had some portions wer lyk-
wais compellit, other be gud will, or elis be a new law that was maid
for that effect. Bot his Maieſte promyſed to my ſaid brother afmekle
heritage in another part, in reſpect that his gift was obtenit lang be-
fore the contract of mariage.

Thir twa ambaffadouris being weill ſatiffied, and redy to retourn in
Denmark, ther fell out another foull attemptat in the Kingis palice, be
the Erle Bodowell and his affociatis, be the convoy of ſome that wer
about his Maieſte. The ſaid erle, early in a mornyng, enterit in at the
bak ȝet befyd the kitching, as the ſaid ȝet was openit to let fourth of
the palice my Lady Athell, paſſing that way to veſit hir mother the
Lady Gowrye, that logit hard without the palice. The ſaid erle, with
a few company at the firſt, entrit within his Maieſteis chamber, quhilk
wes eaſely oppenit vnto him. He had a drawen ſwerd in his
and Meſter Jhon Coluille another. His Maieſteis claife wer louſe, and
his of his hoife not knet vp; ȝet he was in nawayes aſtoniſ-
fit, bot be calling them falſe traitours, bidding them ſtryk gif
they durſt.

p. 220. Bot when they perſaued that his Maieſte wald tak na fear, Meſter
Jhon Coluill roundit in the earles ear; wha efter that fell down vpon
his knees, humbly craving pardone, alleging that he had waited on
lang ſecretly in the town of Edenbrough, to haue ſuttet grace and
mercy on the ſame maner upon the hye ſtreit, as dyuers vthers had
done; and that his intention was diſcouerit till ſic of his ennemys as
wer about his Maieſte, wha had apponted men to ſchut him; ſa that
he was compellit to tak this harder courſe for his latter refuge; request-

ing his Maieſte other till pardone him, or elis to tak his awen ſwerd and ſley him. With this he layed hislang hair vnder his Maieſteis feit, and tok his fut with his hand and ſet it vpon his hair, in ſigne of greter humilite. Quhilk moued his Maieſte to haue pitie and compaſſion vpon him, and granted him pardonefrely without compulſion; as his Maieſte tald me that ſame day, and the haill maner of his incommyng.

In the mean tym that this was in doing, the allarme cam vp to the town. The commown bell rang, and many ran down, and I amang the reſt, to ſe what help mycht be maid. Being in the vtter cloiſe, I cryed vp at the window of his Maieſteis chamber, aſking how his Maieſte did. He cam to the window, and ſaid all wald be weill anough; and ſaid, he had agreed with them vpon certane conditions, “quhilkis ar preſently to be put in wret. Therfor,” ſaid he, “cauſe ſa many of the town as ar com to my relief, to ſtay in the abbay kirk gard, till I ſend them farther word, and retourn again within half ane hour yourſelf.” Now efter that I had tald my commiſſion to the few number of the town that wer com, they taried not lang. Sa gret wer ther miſcontentement for the tym, that many deſyred a chengement.

Efter this I paſt to the tua Dence ambaffadours, that wer logit in the houſe of Kinloch; wha wer in a gret diſpleſour for his Maieſteis eſtait, and willit me, in ther name, to retourn and deſyre farther knowlege of the weilfair of baith King and Quen. His Maieſte cam again to the window, and brocht the Quen with him; and they baith bad me tell the ambaffadours that they wer weill, and that thingis wer fully agreed. Then the ſaidis ambaffadouris directed me to the Erle Bodo-well, to deſyre leaue that thay mycht com in eſternun to the court, and ſe ther Maieſteis. Quhilkbeing granted, I paſt with them to the Quenis

chamber ; and leaving them ther, past fordwart to se his Maieſte, wha was glaid to get any of his awen that he mycht ſpeak to, and declared vnto me the haill maner ; lamenting mair the euell fauourit fourm of doing of the maiſt part of them that wer about him, then he did the Erle Bodowelis proceeding vpon ſa gret neceſſite. I again, efter that I had comforted him the beſt I culd, ſaid that it was lamentable that he, wha had ſic a pringnant wit, and ſa ſincere ane inclynation, ſuld caſt him ſelf continowally in the company of wicked men, whom he loued for thair pleaſant langage, albeit he had oft proif of ther infidellite ; and waved and did caſt aff ſic trew honeſt men as had a continowall cair of his honour and ſuretie, be ſchawing him the verite in ſour and unplaiſant langage. He ſaid, it was his chance to beleue that men, vnto whom he had bene very beneficiall, ſuld loue him. Wher I remembrit him of the ſaying of Plutark vnto Trayan, to think better of ther conſaill that loued him, then of thers that he loued.

P. 221. Efter this the Dence ambaffadours required to be hard before the conſaill, quhilk was granted ; and his Maieſte past to the nether towbuith, throw the town, wher the counſaill thocht meteſt to fit, and ther gaue audience to the ſaid ambaffadours. Wha declaired how they wer redy to depart towardis Denmark, and how that the K. ther maiſter, at ther commyng, wald inquyre of the eſtait of the K. his gud brother. And gene they culd not inform him of the verite, he wald perchance ſend vther ambaffadouris. Therefore requested the conſaill, not to think ſtrange of ther curioſite in thre queſtions ; to wit, whither the K. knew or was maid preuy to the Erle Bodowelis enterpryſe or not ; whither the K. had promyſed any thing to the ſaid erle, for fear or be compulſion, or frely with his hart ; and whither the K. wes keped captywe, or gif he was at liberte.

To this his Maieſte maid anſwer firſt him ſelf, that he knew nathing of the erles incommyng, and that he was not tane with his awen content. To the ſecond his Maieſte anſwerit, that his promyſe was not maid be compulſion, bot for very pitie, vpon the Erle Bodowelis gret humiliation. To the thrid he ſaid, whither he was keped captywe or was at liberte, he left that point to the conſaill to diſcyd. The conſaill again referrit it vnto the kingis awen declairation; ſa that head lay ouer vndiſcydit.

It nedet na farther deſciſion; for euery body mycht ſe that he was keped, and a new gard was tane vp, wherof the Lord Ogiltre was capten. His Maieſte was parmitted daly till paſs fourth to the gardes, to tak the air; wher he lamented vnto me to ſe him ſelf ſa waited on, aſking gif they wald ay keip him captywe. I requested his Maieſte to uſe wiſdom and patience; “and let it not appear that ye cair quhilk of them be about you, and ye will ſchortly ſe them devyd amang them ſelues, for the caſualites, or for wardes or mariages that may vaik. This lord will ſay that he will haue it; another will ſay that he will other haue it to him ſelf or to his frend, or elis he will tary na langer. Then with tym ther purſe will grow toun, that the maiſt part of them will retire them and becom malcontentis. Then your Maieſte may tak occaſion to wone ſa many of them as may be without breking of your promyſe or parelling of fre liberte; wheras gif your Maieſte preſs now to eſchaipe they ar in the hait tred of ther ſtanding, as I ye will brek your promyſe and parell your perſon.” gud vntill he was alterit be the chanceler, Sir Ge fled for fear of the Erle Bodowell; for they

aduyces vnto his Maieſte to ſpy out ſome gud occaſi
 ſelf out of his keepers handis. For they fearit
 company with the new com in lordis that he wald with
 had bene about him of before, and wald forge
 folowing this aduyſe, his Maieſte determinit to eſchaiepe
 him. Sa this plat was layed, that his Maieſte ſuld de
 ther to paſs his tym vntill the Erle Bodowellis cleang
 for that effect to ane apponted day ; in the mea
 him ſelf from court vntill he ſuld be maid a clean
 the Lord Ogiltre with a gard. The Erle of Athell
 Malcom Toiſche and dyuers vthers. Now his Maieſte
 that ſome that wer in his company had bene
 him as he conjecturit weill anough at the
 requyred, oppenit his intent of eſ
 ment and hopped to be in a better

P. 222. wer when the chanceler, Sir George and ther adherentis had the cheif
 handling. Bot he hid his enterpryſe fra me, becauſe I had diſwadit
 him to be ouer haifty, as is ſpecified of before ; and lykwais from
 my brother Sir Robert, wha was new retournit fra his ambaffage in
 England. His Maieſte thocht, in his retournyng out of Facland
 to Edenbrough, to ſpure his horſe towardis Couper, and ther to be-
 come fre ; quhilk he mycht haue done eaſely, gif they had bene all
 trew that he maid preuy to his enterpryſe. Quhilk when he cam till
 Edenbrough, was diſcouerit to the Erle Bodowell ; wha boiſted his
 Maieſte, and ſpak very hard and reprochefull langage of him, ſa that
 dyuers thocht his Maieſte in gret danger.

In the mean tym, the miniſters, with Meſter Bowes the Engliſ am-

baffadour and my brother Sir Robert, delt betwen his Maieſte and the
 Erle Bodowell, and brocht them in ſome better termes; packing vp all
 matters according to the firſt contract and agreement. And the Erle
 Bodowell was fairly cleangit be ane affyſe, and therafter ane conven-
 tion apponted to be in Stirling; wher his Maieſte being at fre liberte,
 fuld perfourm all conditions and promyſes. When his Maieſte was at
 Stirling, dyuers of them that wer fled for fear of the Erle Bodowell, and
 that had ſome particulairs, cam till court and moued his Maieſte, being
 at the convention, to ſay that whatſoeuer he had promyſed of before
 vnto the Erle Bodowell, was done vpon juſt fear be compulſion. Quhilk
 his Maieſte was very laith to do, conform to his vprycht naturell; af-
 firmand the contrary, as he had alwayes done of before. Then ſic as
 had particulaires, vſed wyles and ſubtilites till drawe him indirectly
 from his ground, to folow ther intent; alleging that whatſoeuer his
 Maieſte did in his captiuite, culd ſtand the Erle Bodowell in na ſteid.
 And now to mak the Erle Bodowell ſure, his Maieſte behoued to ſay
 that he was compellit at the firſt; bot being at liberte, he mycht mak
 the agreement effectuell; in the mean tym ſet down his ordinance
 out of his company dyuers of his dependers, with whom
 the Erle Bodowelis doers again deſyred the houſes of
 to him, and the houſe of Spot to James Douglas, and
 promyſed as they allegit. The Erle ſtayed at dele-
 to Stirling, when he vnderſtod that the chanceler
 com again to court aganes promyſe. Wha wer his
 cryed out in a rage that they wer fiſchen
 the articles of agreement at the inſtance of his
 that wer neuer ſpoken of. In the mean tym

to Stirling that Bodowelis frendis wer fayn
 and litle, and he retirrit him self first to Lithco; vnto
 directed my brother Sir Robert to deall with him; bot he
 repentance for his moderat behauour and pro-
 full vnreuerent langage of his Maieſte and of all
 the laſt agreement, whom he allegit wer cationers
 my brother that was ſent vnto him was glaid to
 with his awen faifete. Sa the Erle Bodowell becam
 mynd then he had bene of before, for eſchewing
 to draw the maiſt part of his dependers
 and remiſſions, except only James Douglas
 particulaires.

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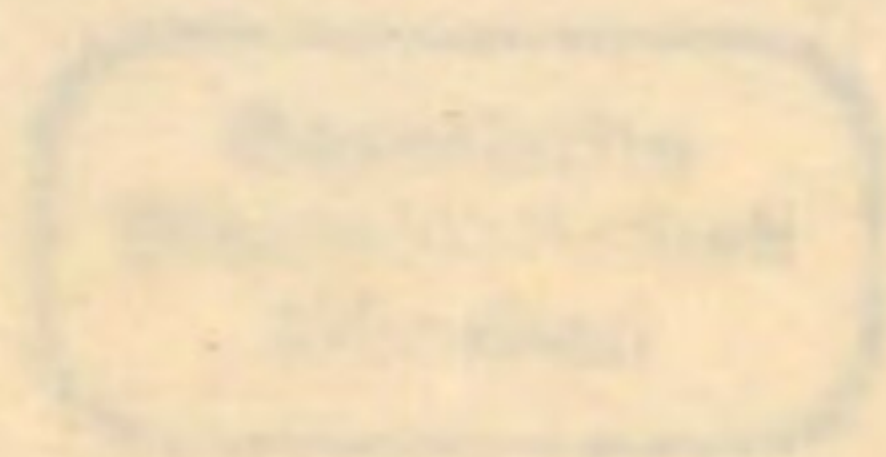
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